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THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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TECHNICAL REPORT 857-R-2 THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Throughout many parts of the developing world, people are experiencing change associated with the breakdown of a traditional, rural, society and the emergence of a more modern, urban society. This report provides a quantitative and descriptive analysis of the psychological impact of such change upon such measurable features as attitudes and aspirations. Based upon a review of previous research, it was hypothesized that change would have a dual-edged impact. First, positive feelings would accrue as a result of participation in a society having a higher stage of economic development. Second, negative feelings would result from such things as the need to replace emotionally embedded traditional values with ones more appropriate to a modern culture as well as the need to keep pace with steadily rising aspirations.

While this general hypothesis seemed reasonable, numerous questions remained concerning the precise size and nature of the impact of social change, how it is affected by other relevant factors such as socio-economic status, etc. To answer these questions in sufficient detail, the following procedure was employed.

Field Survey Design

In order to simplify the task of interpreting results and drawing inferences concerning the validity of the hypothesis being tested, the following steps were taken. First, quantitative measures of attitudes and subjective value were employed. Second, the strength of the impact of social change was assessed by contrasting it with the strength of a better understood social force; the one selected was socio-economic status. By the use of a factorial design, the strength of both forces was studied when they acted alone and in various combinations. Third, in order to provide some test of the universality or generalizing ability of findings, the effects of social change and socio-economic status were studied over a range of different types of communities which met two criteria. First, they represented typical types of communities found in central Luzon and elsewhere in the Philippines. Second, they provided a reasonable amount of heterogeneity which provided some basis for taking account of idiosyncratic community effects.

The impact of social change was investigated by taking quantitative measures of the attitudes and aspirations of two groups of people. One was a population which had been exposed to a comparatively traditional mode of life. The second population had been exposed to a higher level of development and a more transitional (or semi-modern) way of life. Therefore, experimental manipulations were not performed physically as is the case in the social-scientific laboratory. Instead, it was done by selection as is usually the case in field studies.

This method of manipulation by selection had one disadvantage. The only practical way it could be implemented was to interview people who lived in a community which was judged to be either more traditional or transitional in nature. In following such a procedure it should be recognized that people in any community had been subjected to a number of idiosyncratic community effects as well, all of which could confound the design in some unknown way.

In order to circumvent this problem, four different sets of communities were studied where each "set" was a matched pair. That is, insofar as possible, the communities were equated except with regard to the amount of social change they had experienced. Because of the wide range of factors associated with social change, this matching reduced to such things as insuring that (a) the dialect was the same, (b) nothing exceptional had occurred recently to one that had not occurred to the other (such as experiencing a typhoon, earthquake, etc.), and (c) the bases of the economy were the same. For example, in the Philippines, although a variety of crops might be grown in one area or different activities may be followed, major emphasis is usually placed upon one -- such as growing sugar, rice, or coconuts, or fishing. Four pairs of communities were studied in this manner.

The actual choice of communities was done subjectively after conferring with anthropologists, sociologists, and rural sociologists who were familiar with communities in central Luzon. Of considerable benefit in this process was the use of personnel who had just completed a survey of 160 Philippine communities as part of a previous study. The socio-economic status of people in the communities was determined by using the criteria set forth by Lynch (1959). Specifically, a "big" person was one who had more than enough for subsistence and who was nominated by such key people as the mayor and priest. All other residents fell in the "little" people class. Once the population of respondents

had been defined in sufficient detail to satisfy requirements defined previously, a random sample was taken from each socio-economic status group using block sampling techniques.

Approximately one hundred persons were interviewed in each of the eight poblaciones studied (a poblacion is roughly equivalent to a county seat in the U. S.). This goal was met by interviewing twenty to thirty people of high socio-economic status and seventy to eighty people of lower status. Insofar as possible, respondents were divided between those who lived in the poblacion itself (most of the higher class people did) and those who lived in a nearby barrio (a hamlet).

In summary, interview data were gathered within a 2x2x4 factorial design of a field experiment where major variables were as follows: two levels of social change -- one traditional and one transitional; two levels of socio-economic status -- one group of big people and a second of little people; and four different types of communities selected to cover a range of varied economic bases -- growing rice, sugar, coconuts, or fishing. The basic factorial design, is shown below.

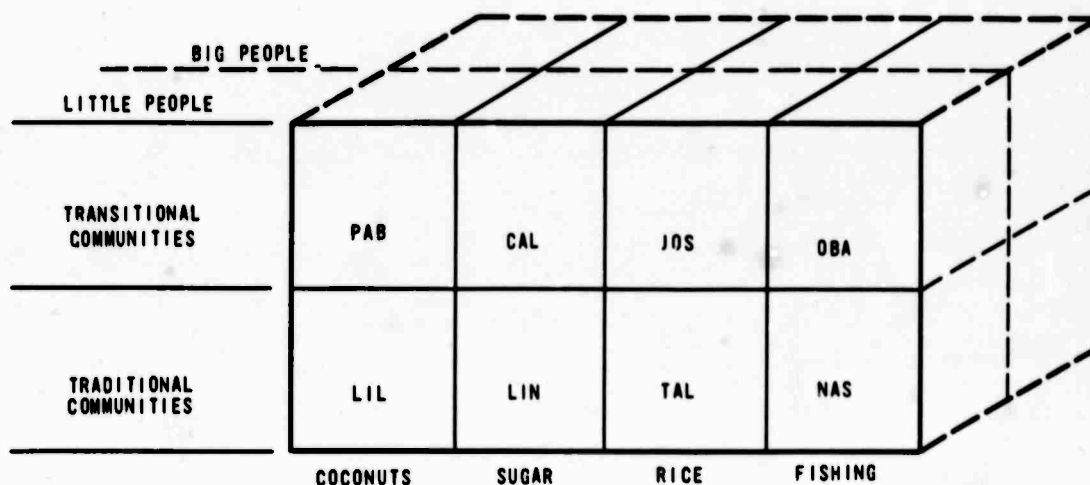


FIG. 1 EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN OF FIELD SURVEY INCLUDING COMMUNITY DESIGNATIONS

Abbreviated names of each of the communities studied are shown in Figure 1.1. All were in central Luzon and all were Tagalog speaking. Four interviewers were used, all of whom had previous experience. Each interviewed both a traditional and transitional village having the same economic base, e. g. , sugar growing. To balance serial effects, two started in the transitional village and two started in the traditional village. Therefore, while the interviewer "effect" (differences between interviewers) was balanced with respect to the social change variable, it was confounded with the community-type variable. In an attempt to reduce bias caused by interviewer differences, frequent visits were made by a field supervisor and, at the start, weekly meetings were held in Manila to standardize interviewing practices.

Selection of communities was done in a way to insure that within each pair of communities there was comparatively little doubt that one was more traditional than the other. However, since there was no quantitative scale of "traditionalism" or "development" against which communities could be measured, there was no way to insure that the size of the difference was the same in all four pairs. The significance of this factor plus the interviewer balancing problem discussed earlier was that the effects of community type along with its interaction with other variables had to be viewed with some restraint.

Results

(1) From past research and more recent national statistics, it is apparent that the bulk of Philippine rural residents live at the subsistence level within a traditionally oriented society.

(2) The greater the amount of social change experienced, the higher one's aspiration for things associated with a money economy, e. g. , a regular monthly income, the desire to provide an advanced education for one's children, a prestigious occupation or profession, and the wish to possess consumer goods associated with a higher standard of living.

(3) Conversely, the lesser the amount of social change experienced, the greater the emphasis placed upon such traditional values as ownership of land per se and the desire for protective political influence.

(4) The type of community in which one lives has substantial impact upon the way in which values and aspirations change. Therefore, extrapolating trends from case study investigations could produce disastrous results.

(5) Social change produces a greater separation between the aspirations of members of different socio-economic classes. This means that developing countries can anticipate an increased need to facilitate interclass communications and reconcile class differences in attitudes which occur as a result of development.

(6) When it comes to what one has now, the impact of socio-economic status is enormous. Big people had more of everything than little people. Further, as social change occurred, the difference in the level of ownership between big and little people increased substantially. Finally, when certain types of communities were more prosperous than others with respect to certain dimensions, the size of the discrepancy in holdings between big and little people increased. Perhaps the easiest way to summarize this effect is that "he who has, gets."

(7) Social change has had a discernible impact as well -- between ten and twenty percent as great as that of socio-economic status. Transitional people had more consumer goods, a higher monthly income, and a higher level of education than was the case for the traditional people. In only one instance did traditional people have more: they had a higher level of political connections than transitional little people. This trend did not hold for big people in the two social change groups.

(8) Rice communities owned the highest average amount of land and the lowest average level of consumer goods. They were second lowest in mean educational level and tied for last in general occupational level. They were first in level of political connections possessed. This entire pattern of responses would indicate that the rice communities were more traditional than the other three types of communities.

(9) Coconut and sugar communities, by comparison, appeared to be less traditional. They owned less land, and had more consumer goods, and a higher mean educational level.

(10) Fishing communities appeared to be more difficult to summarize. They were second highest on average land ownership, second lowest on ownership of consumer goods, and the lowest on general educational level. This would tend to put them in a category between the rice communities on one hand and the sugar and coconut communities on the other. One inconsistency with this pattern of behavior is their very low level of political contacts.

(11) Social change would appear to have considerable impact upon average level of education received. This was especially dramatic in the fishing communities. It appears as though the general impact of social change is to provide most people with a higher starting point on the general social ladder and more varied opportunities for self-improvement. From that point, however, the race invariably goes to those with more experience, i. e., those of higher socio-economic status. Thus, while there is a general improvement in present status with change, the position of big people is enhanced more. It is obvious that social change does not produce a classless society. Indeed, the more traditional the area, the less the difference between classes.

(12) Those dimensions which were seen as being of greatest importance to people in general were those of education and occupational or professional status. The next most important grouping was between importance attached to land and a monthly income. Trailing far behind were the importance placed upon ownership of consumer goods, having important political contacts, and holding public office.

(13) People of high socio-economic status seemed to be leading the way in adopting values associated with a more modern economy. They attached less importance to land ownership per se than did average people. Also, they valued education and a regular monthly income more highly. Further, when they experienced social change, this change in value orientation became accelerated. By contrast, the values of average people showed a much slower, and sometimes no, drift from the traditional orientation.

(14) Social change does yield a discernible impact on individual values away from such traditional beliefs as the value of such things as land per se and toward such things as desire for consumer goods, and more importance attached to a regular monthly income. Its impact is similar in kind to that of socio-economic status but smaller in degree, roughly twenty to twenty-five percent as great as that of socio-economic status.

(15) There appeared to be a strong economic orientation in the rice communities, which concentrated on ways of accumulating earning power as opposed to ways of using it. Such findings indicated considerable concern with the business of survival.

(16) A psychological unrest index was computed by contrasting what one has to what one wants and weighing this discrepancy by the amount of subjective importance attached to the dimension in question. When such computations were made, it was found that they bore a high negative correlation with prosperity and a high positive one with poverty. While the importance of economic considerations was stronger than had been anticipated, the indices showed clearly that land reform and mass education programs would have considerable appeal in the Philippines -- as is the case elsewhere in the developing world.

(17) Although there appeared to be such a thing as generalized economic optimism, it bore little relationship to another general attitudinal factor -- perceptions concerning recent economic progress.

(18) Generalized optimism was lower in the traditional people, but perceptions concerning recent economic progress were higher in that same group.

(19) Higher status people in transitional areas appeared to be experiencing pressure because of a lack of capital. Further, these people had less general economic optimism than average people, although the trend was not completely clear.

(20) Expressed contentment increased as psychological unrest decreased.

(21) High status people had higher degrees of expressed self-sufficiency than lower status people; and, when a significant social change impact was noted, transitional people felt more self-sufficient than traditional people.

(22) On the whole, people felt fairly self-sufficient and were optimistic about their chances of reaching their aspirations.

(23) Higher status people made more conservative estimates about chances of reaching their goals than did lower status people, and traditional people displayed more optimism in this area than transitional people.

(24) Relating psychological unrest indices to various expressed feelings relevant to optimism, fatalism, self-sufficiency, etc., is not a simple affair. The reason appears to be that while each of the areas considered appeared to form a logically consistent unit, they bore little relationship to each other. Obviously, perceptions concerning economic optimism are complicated. For this reason an analysis of open-ended responses is given in one chapter.

(25) The impact of social change upon feelings of optimism and self-sufficiency can be summarized as follows. It lowers psychological unrest and heightens general feelings of contentment, overall economic optimism, and perceived self-sufficiency. At the same time, it causes people to become more conservative in their estimates of their likelihood of successfully obtaining aspirations and makes them view recent economic progress less favorably than their more traditional counterparts; i. e., it takes more of a difference to be noticed. In general, its impact is similar in kind to that of socio-economic status.

(26) Economic progress is crucial to feelings of contentment. For that reason, one chapter treats the problem of economic opportunities in some detail using specific examples from the two rice villages.

(27) Traditional people place greater emphasis upon social relationships (particularly of a helpful, supportive type) as a source of contentment than do transitional people. The latter group tends to emphasize economic factors.

(28) Transitional people place greater emphasis on the importance of civic aspects than do traditional people.

(29) Recreation of a formalized sort is more important to transitionals than traditionals. Further, there appear to be substantial differences in what is perceived as recreation.

(30) There is a surprising amount of contentment -- an acceptance of one's fate -- among people who live at subsistence or near subsistence conditions.

(31) Perceptions regarding progress appear to vary considerably as a function of one's prior experience. There is a quantum increase in the complexity of things perceived as progress, once higher amounts of change have been experienced.

Recommendations

(1) Because of the large, consistent impact of idiosyncratic community effects found throughout the study, it should be obvious that interpretations and extrapolations of results of single community case studies are precarious processes. This is especially true when one considers the numerous problems encountered in field applications work. Therefore, it is recommended that substantial caution be used in cases where such studies provide the only data available.

(2) The techniques of using controlled field experiments and matched replicates would appear to offer objective assessment of the impact of various social forces -- alone, in combination, or with respect to one another. Therefore, such an approach should be used where possible, if one is concerned with such things as getting information to help programs of planned social change.

(3) Further study is needed to ascertain more clearly how interclass relationships change with development. Data from the present study indicate that the gap between high and low status people gets larger as the economic development level increases. Determining when and how growth of a middle class fits into the pattern would be extremely important.

(4) The multidimensional character of economic optimism seems to be well established in the present study. Because of its practical importance, this attitudinal structure should be studied in more detail, related to overt behavior, etc.

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF PHILIPPINE SOCIAL CHANGE

This report is concerned with the psychological impact of social change in the Philippines, with special attention being given to its effect upon the value systems of people experiencing the change. It is hoped that such information may be useful in interpreting the impact of development in other countries as well--especially those where numerous forces cause a drift away from a traditional rural life toward an urbanization process. While many Americans feel that social change in such countries is a new phenomenon, it is not. The process has been taking place for centuries. It is just that our awareness of it and the need for it has become more widespread since World War II. Thus, the problem becomes the difficult one of having a sufficiently deep understanding of the modernization process to be able to anticipate where it is headed and to support actions aimed at facilitating it. Whether or not this ambitious goal can be satisfied is difficult to say. However, it is fairly obvious that the attempt must be made.

Material in this chapter is aimed at providing a prospective against which to interpret research findings reported in later chapters. It attempts to define some of the salient features and complexities of the psychological environment of Filipinos in transition. This goal necessitates a very brief review of the historical context from which the present change pattern emerged.

Throughout the chapter considerable emphasis is placed upon forces and stresses which both precipitate change and result from it. An attempt is made to define basic features of the transitional mode of life and to identify major forces impinging upon it. Anthropologists and rural sociologists have done a good job of depicting what is "traditional" and just what "traditionalism" means in everyday life. The reader's own experience in highly developed western cultures also provides a basis for comprehending the modern. What remains, however, is considerable ambiguity about the psychological environment of people in transition.

Historical Perspective

A comprehensive description of early Philippine life can be found in the collection of Blair and Robertson (1903), comprising fifty-four volumes based upon observations of the Spanish government officials and clergy. When they arrived, the Spaniards found the islands thinly populated by people who were organized around communities located within separate districts. There was no central government and no royal court. This means of social organization has had a profound effect on subsequent Philippine history. It also set the Philippines apart from her neighbors of Java, Thailand, and Burma.

In the Philippines, for example, loyalties and controls were regional instead of national. To some extent they remain so today. Also, a bilateral extended kinship system existed in which women were the equal of men, a feature which tended to distribute resources and diffuse control. At the same time, decentralization of control tended to produce antipathy toward neighboring groups which was difficult to control in the absence of a superordinate agency. This antipathy and insularity is still present in some of the remote areas of Luzon and in the Sulu region.

Such a fragmentation of allegiance accompanied by suspicion and hostility simplified the task of control by an external power; instead of having to supply force sufficient to suppress a general revolution, as England had to do in the U. S., governors were free to pit local dissident factions against each other and mass their limited forces to eliminate resistance in one isolated group at a time. Therefore, it was to the advantage of the Spanish Government to keep some of the basic social features of Philippine life, adding only those modifications which would assist in their administrative control. The role of the clergy tended to confuse such a straightforward political strategy, however. Comprehensive work of the early missionaries tended to give the bulk of the population a common religion of Roman Catholicism along with the rudiments of a centralized school system. Thus, basic pressures for nationalism were introduced within a political context where the administrative system encouraged decentralization in the main part and loose confederation at best. In summary, the impact of 300 years of Spanish control, which is discussed in some detail by Phelan (1959), was twofold: first, conditions necessary (if not sufficient) for encouragement of Philippine nationalism were provided by the church; second, these feelings were frustrated by expedient features of the colonial

control policy. Often to confuse matters further, the Church maintained administrative control as well, thereby mixing the two opposing elements in a bewildering manner.

Such a mixture of conflicting explicit and implicit goals contained within a single socio-religious structure was bound to produce behavioral inconsistencies. The result was that the progress toward Philippine nationalism vacillated between a revolutionary and evolutionary path. It might also be the basis of the modern day tendency of some Filipinos to look toward the government as a dispenser of goods in a charitable manner but not to expect consistent leadership from it.

Later visitors than the padres of Blair and Robertson included Gironiere (1854) and Foreman (1890). They visited during the latter part of the Spanish era and offered graphic accounts of Philippine life when much of the civic government was transacted by the friars. The Spaniards had moved the Filipinos into poblaciones to facilitate government and control. The land was nominally owned by the order, and the Filipino farmer paid his rent through appointed officials. The system led to abuses, and, when combined with the forces described above, ultimately led to a briefly successful revolution. One can catch some of the spirit of the times in the brilliant novels of Rizal which inspired Filipino patriots to throw off the oppressive regime.

Before they had time to introduce their own changes, however, the Filipinos were overcome by a different type of colonist; Americans who felt they were bringing some of the American ideals of justice to an exploited people. In other words, the rescue party arrived late and soon became embroiled in complexities involved in having U. S. interests and ideals (which were not coincident) reconciled with those of the Filipinos (which were something else). This era has been portrayed by the novelist, Wolff, in "Little Brown Brother" (1960).

The result was that whatever American ideals may have been, the implementation of their program (not too surprisingly) fell short. As Pelzer (1945) pointed out, the distribution of land to the peasants did not really take place; instead, a secular tradition of landlords became thoroughly entrenched. This was especially true in the better farming areas. For example, while the percentage of tenants among farm operators in Samar and Mindanao may be less than 25, in some of the regions in the fertile plain north of Manila the

percentage reached as high as 88. Thus, while American occupation of the Philippines may have changed the ownership of much of the land, it often resulted in affirming more completely the tenant status of many people whose ancestors had lived under similiar conditions for generations on exactly the same plot of land. Excellent discussions of resulting man-land relationships have been provided by Spencer (1954) and Huke (1963). For our purposes here, it suffices to note that U. S. control did not attain the goal of making the pattern of social control one of settling disputes among equals. Instead, a strong social stratification remained along with a potential basis of rural unrest.

This type of history has been accompanied by episodic peasant uprisings for centuries. The unrest in central Luzon of the 1950's, the management of which has been described by Starner (1961), constitutes only a more recent manifestation. However, as indicated above, many of the causes of such uprisings still remain in spite of strong government efforts aimed at correcting them. A powerful catalyst to such conditions is that population pressures are becoming greater than ever. Physical and geographic factors served to induce additional pressure. For example, the environmental constraints of a tropical monsoon climate, coupled with an island structure, and limited natural resources in fuel and base metals have imposed limits on the direction and course of development. Therefore, any programs designed to aid or modify Philippine development must work within both social and physical limitations, or efforts will be dissipated against resistances and natural barriers that cannot be overcome.

Imbedded within this confusing situation is an ongoing social modernization process. As one might expect, its manifestations and course are not alien to the culture; i. e., the process of change is strongly influenced by cultural characteristics. Despite these idiosyncratic effects, Philippine society is experiencing change which is leading people away from a familiar, traditional style of life and thrusting them at least partially into a modern one for which they are not fully prepared. There have been many characterizations of the two styles of life which represent ideal types at the end of a developmental continuum. Durkheim proposed the terms mechanical and organic solidarity to define these hypothetical extremes. At the turn of the century, Tonnies described gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, helping to establish a tradition which implicitly assumes a single continuum relating the extremes. There have been

many synonyms. Probably one of the most significant contributors to the understanding of these two styles of life is Redfield (1953), who referred to folk and urban characterizations. These are contrasted below as they are found in the modern Philippines.

Rural Philippine Life

As an ideal type, the folk or traditional group lives in an essentially subsistence economy. These are the peasants who may be oriented to, but are not a part of the city. They live in small groups with intercommunication being characterized primarily by face-to-face contacts. Such people have comparatively little contact with strangers or with nonkin. While there are individual differences and a slow drift in style of living, such people tend to cling to a pattern of interpersonal relationships which serve to keep individuals in reasonable harmony with one another. Their self-sufficiency and self-containment reduce the degree to which they are concerned with outsiders and outsiders are concerned with them. Thus, such people may form the below surface portion of the population iceberg of a country--one which is relatively unnoticed by the casual visitor and unusually difficult to contact and appraise.

It is important to recognize that a peasant is not simply a poverty-stricken version of a city resident who resides in the countryside. He has a unique style of life of his own which takes care of his needs, keeps peace between individuals, and maintains a predictable, coherent pattern of living. The differences between his values and methods of pursuing his goals and those of his urban counterpart are of significance to this research. In the words of Wolf (1966):

Such rural residents make up those large segments of mankind which stand midway between the primitive tribe and industrial society. These populations, many million strong, neither primitive nor modern, form the majority of mankind. They are important historically, because industrial society is built upon the ruins of peasant society. They are important contemporaneously, because they inhabit that 'underdeveloped' part of the world whose continued presence constitutes both a threat and a responsibility for those countries which have thrown off the shackles of backwardness. While the industrial revolution has advanced with giant strides across the globe, the events of every day suggest that its ultimate success is not yet secure....

Many writers speak of the underdeveloped world as if it were simply an empty void which needed but the influx of industrial capital and skills to quicken it into activity. . . I have attempted to show that the peasant world is not amorphous, but an ordered world, possessed of its particular forms of organization. Moreover, these forms of organization vary from peasantry to peasantry. No one easy formula will do for all. Disregard of this fact has caused many a well-meant decision, taken on the top levels of society, to flounder against the refractory barriers presented by the patterns of peasant life. Invisible from the commanding heights of the social order, they nevertheless form an infrastructure of society that cannot be wished away by willing.

Granted that these characteristics fit a generalized rural, peasant concept, the question remains as to the extent to which some or all Philippine rural life conforms to this stereotype. In this research particular attention was placed upon the lowland Christian areas. Although these areas of the Philippines have not been the object of as much attention from social scientists as the more exotic mountain areas, there is an increasing volume of research being directed to this area.

One of the early and influential reports is that of Rivera and McMillan (1952) which described thirteen typical lowland barrios in the troubled areas of central Luzon. At the same time, Pal (1956) reported results of an intensive study of a single barrio in Leyte in which he paid attention to the kinship, organization, status systems, and world view, as well as the living conditions and means of livelihood of the people. The reports have served as a sort of benchmark for subsequent studies. Coller (1960) studied a barrio in Leyte trying to relate the village ecology to the schistosomiasis problem. After discussing agricultural practices, dietary habits, and methods of gaining a livelihood, he suggested possible social programs to deal with the schistosomiasis problem, emphasizing the importance of family constellations in the power structure of the community.

These three studies have emphasized many of the qualities which the rural Philippines share with other peasant societies. There is a reliance on local products for food and shelter. There is a dependence on a nearby city or Manila for some products sold in the local market and for direction of the functions of government, particularly education. While money has replaced barter, there is a great reliance on producing food for the family and on building shelter from materials such as bamboo and palm which are

available in the neighborhood. Under these circumstances, there is a very low margin of saving and families are compelled to rely on loans from relatives and money lenders when an emergency arises. These circumstances encourage a good deal of cooperation and sharing, especially among relatives. They also provide the setting for a great deal of jealousy and hostility which is often only thinly veiled. Law and order in these circumstances are dependent on the ability of families to protect their members. Poorly paid government officials feel obliged to improve their standard of living by a variety of activities which enable them to extract extra money from their transactions. Contrary to superficial appearances, life in the rural peasant Philippines is not tranquil and simple but highly competitive and uncertain with a continuing struggle for power, influence and even survival.

The basis of class distinctions in such areas was described by Lynch (1959), who studied social class in a Bikol town. He found that even in this area, where no one was wealthy, there was still a status hierarchy. Basically, there were two social classes: "big people" and "little people." The determining factor which decided to which of these two groups one belonged was not based upon individual ability; rather, class status was tied to the kinship group. For this reason, families (and not individuals) rose or fell in status, something which occurred frequently as more successful members migrated to the large cities. Higher status in the rural village, as elsewhere, was related to wealth: those at the top of the hierarchy had a surplus of goods beyond what they needed for themselves, while the little people barely had enough for subsistence. The lowest person was one who had to accept charity from nonkin. To be without family connections as well as wealth was the lowest position of all.

Diaz, Von Oppenfeld and Von Oppenfeld (1960) offered a detailed case study of three families in the province of the agricultural college from which the study was reported. They paid special attention to both physical and human resources involved in typical working days of each family. Farming equipment and practices were described by presenting typical records of income and expenditures. Results clearly indicate the low margin of financial reserve upon which these people exist. For example, as of 1957, half of the farm families had cash incomes of less than \$200 per year, and only one quarter had more than \$300 per year. Obviously, such data indicate the existence of near subsistence living.

More recent data have been provided by Quiton (1965), who examined the aspirations for their children of 711 household heads in eight barrios in the same geographical area. Three quarters of these 711 families were engaged in farming, of whom 73 percent were tenants. In spite of a very low income, however, 62 percent of the respondents were surprisingly optimistic that their future living condition would be better than the present. Also, education was considered very desirable: forty-nine percent wanted their children to have a college education; 26 percent, high school; and 22 percent, elementary education. Some pessimism, or resignation to life, was indicated by the fact that only seven percent expected their children to reach college and an additional 13 percent, high school. The desire for a different life for their children is shown by the fact that thirty-nine percent of the parents wanted their children to enter white collar occupations and only 21 percent said they wanted their children to continue on the farm. Again, expectations were lower with six percent expecting their children to have white collar employment and 47 percent expecting their children to stay on the farm. Thus, while parents may desire their offspring to change to a more modern way of life, they appeared to feel that the chances of this occurring were slight.

In another recent study, Pal (1960) continued his research in the central islands, offering an extended report on the resources, level of living, and aspirations of rural people. He found that money was becoming increasingly scarce and 70 percent of the people lived from day to day with no resources in reserve. Also, certain factors inhibited people from showing initiative in trying to modify their environment or image of life. The first of these factors was a prevailing fatalism which is shown by the fact that the majority of the persons studied believed that luck, predetermination, or fate was the primary determinant of what happened to a person. Second, each individual capable of working usually had a large number of dependent children and/or aged parents and relatives who depleted anything he accumulated beyond his own basic necessities. Third, Pal hypothesized that the reduced energy level of the potential workers was due in part to a diet inadequate in protein. A fourth factor was the fact that an individual's success or failure was not necessarily equated with his standard of living. Fifth, education failed to raise the rural person's confidence in his ability to control his environment either by his own direct actions or by the action of political leaders. This feeling of lack of ability to control the environment was associated with low agricultural productivity and the absence of

action to prevent erosion, control pests, or increase yields through the use of fertilizer. Another factor contributing to lack of motivation was that the product of a rural person's labors was subject to an unfavorable market in which prices dropped at harvest time and climbed as the farmer needed to buy. Also, the opportunity for supplementing the income through nonfarm work was limited largely to service activities. Only about 10 percent of supplementary jobs were not in this category; what nonfarm jobs existed were seasonal, e. g., government public works oriented to election times and fishing being related to the tides and the moon. Therefore, the farmers had little control over even supplementary employment.

From all of these studies it appears that a substantial portion of people in the lowland Philippine area live under conditions not greatly removed from traditional folk life. Further, it appears that numerous factors tend to make this state-of-affairs fairly resistant to change (especially fatalism); the perspectives of these people are limited because poor transportation and communication reduce their ability to travel, and poor schools restrict their capacity to cope with the unfamiliar. While they wish for an improved life, they see little likelihood of achieving it, and fatalism leads them to expect to continue to live as they have. Hopes for the children take the form of escape; e. g., they want their children to leave this rural area in the belief that they can achieve a better life in the city. Even in this latter case, they feel that their children probably will not be able to fulfill this desire.

In an attempt to counteract this fatalism, there have been many efforts to speed the dissemination of new ideas in the rural areas of the Philippines. Transistor radios have many of the qualities essential for improved, rapid mass communication. In a study of the impact of radios placed by CARE, Collar (1961) found that the barrio people did not look on the radio as a source of information, however; instead the radio was seen as a mark of status and a medium of entertainment. Thus, it was merely absorbed into the traditional way of life instead of producing a stimulus for changing it.

Some of the radio dramas and dialogues were seen as a source of data on how to solve problems, but the advice was ignored if it ran counter to rural traditions. Basically, the radio was taken into the on going activities of the barrio, often providing little more than a reassuring background noise. The people still tended to rely on word-of-mouth communication from trusted persons

for advice on political and farming activities. Thus, at first, at least, the radio was primarily a source of entertainment. While such results suggest that the rural people are not particularly thirsting for information and for new ideas, they are pleased to add anything that increases status or provides amusement. This reliance on traditional channels of communication, particularly on word-of-mouth for the spread of information, restricts the sort of appeals to which people will respond.

In summary, the following seem to be among the most important features of rural Philippine life:

1. High reliance on primary group relationships.
2. Central role of kin groups, both nuclear and extended.
3. An accommodation to nature with a pervasive pattern of fatalism; little belief that effort can bring about improvement.
4. A very low surplus of goods so that there is a pattern of immediate consumption with no saving.
5. A conviction that there is only a limited supply of goods, the pie is only a certain size, and an associated belief that another's success necessitates one's shortage.
6. A tendency to project blame on those who have goods and power for any of one's own shortages.
7. A pattern of seeking close alliances with one's kin so that one can expect their help when needed.
8. A limited sense of scheduling and time so that fixed expectations are seen as flexible.
9. An emphasis on immediate enjoyment of things, events and people since there is no reasonable assurance of being able to postpone and accumulate such pleasures.
10. A fusion of the sacred and secular so that one works as hard to improve the temple or the ritual as to repair the road or learn to read.
11. An emphasis on the possession of land by ownership or tenancy, since land is the source of almost all wealth. Owning land is an end in itself in much the same way that acquiring stocks and bonds is for an urbanized person.

- H I L L N E E N C
12. The power of opinion of the primary group so that the enforcement of traditions and of social control is informal but powerful. Coded laws with agents of reinforcement are not necessary. The opinion of kin is of primary importance; few other considerations matter.
 13. Interactions with whole persons. The peasant knows many things about a person before he trusts him; and when he trusts him, he relies on informal agreements. Contracts are personal. The other side of the coin is that he distrusts strangers and those who try to influence his life without getting to know him. There is accordingly a profound distrust of the central government or any government removed from those he knows personally. Accordingly, local officials present government favors as their own beneficence and government restrictions as the actions of hostile outsiders. Evasion of these restrictions is accordingly regarded as a reasonable right, sometimes a duty.

Transition from Rural to Urban Life

Nowadays only in isolated instances is it possible for small groups of people to meet all of their needs themselves. There are a few groups in the Philippines who closely approximate this condition: the sea gypsies of the Sulu Sea, the Negritos of the Zambales mountains, and some of the Igorots of the Mountain Province. But, the vast majority of Filipinos operate within a world in which they buy at least some of the goods and services they use. At one extreme is the upland farmer operating under the barter system; i. e., he may sell a pig to buy clothes and a few items of food such as salt which he cannot produce himself. At the other end of the continuum is a Manila businessman living in an apartment buying as high a proportion of the things he uses as does someone in Manhattan. Indeed, he is likely to make even more use of servants than his New York counterpart.

The contrast of everyday living patterns between the farmer and merchant reflects differences along the folk-urban continuum of the social scientist. These are two markedly contrasting styles of life. They differ more than merely in the way the members gain their daily bread. Systems of control and of justice, the prescribed roles of families and of relatives, the expectation of and for individuals, and, indeed, the delineation of what constitutes the "good life" are not the same at various points along the continuum. The importance of these dissimilarities lies in the fact that rising costs, greater population concentrations, and higher education combine to force individuals and groups away from traditional living and toward more urban styles of living and different types of values.

But migration is more readily accomplished than a reorientation in values; i. e., one can change his abode more readily than he can modify his outlook. People who move toward the city may take some of the country with them in the form of feelings about family loyalties and about work in general as well as the products of work. This is especially true with respect to adoption of an individualistic as opposed to a communal outlook. For example, unless the new urbanite changes his outlook, his patterns of living which work in a small rural unit leave him open to exploitation and disappointment in a larger unit where not everyone experiences a feeling of responsibility for everyone else.

Such a comparison should not be construed as saying that the smaller country unit is a place of continuing harmony and peace. Jealousy is as savage there as anywhere, and the temptation to use another for one's own gain is equally as strong. What keeps feelings under control is a system of face-to-face controls, of revered leaders, and feared spirits--all of which are capable of bringing the deviant back into a less aggressive mode of behavior. There is a consensus on many issues, and a good deal of effort is spent in attempts to reduce areas of disagreement. Individual differences in people exist, but there is agreement as to who should hold the limited number of positions and wide understanding of paternalistic responsibilities these positions entail. Equally important, mechanisms exist for reducing the inevitable stresses in everyday life. Within this setting, which is by no means simple, there is consensus of opinion concerning what behavior can be expected under specified circumstances, and people are reasonably aware of the degree to which they are approximating "normal" behavioral expectations for a member of the community. This awareness contributes both to one's security and to the extent he can control his environment. Security is enhanced by the belief that the products of one's success are shared, and one's risk of failure is reduced by the awareness that others would help if need be. The whole situation is characterized by a sense of security, at least in a social sense.

Accompanying this feeling of social security, there is a deep moral component in the peasant's life which contributes to his feelings of satisfaction when he moves to another setting. He does not have a sharply demarcated secular life and a highly specialized set of religious observations. Rather, his religion and his work are one; the spirits are all powerful and are everywhere. Much that happens to him is influenced by actions of other "little" people.

Preserving their good will by nonaction is more important than risking alienation of them by his contributing extra effort. His whole environment is only partially under his control. Thus, while the old ways may not be the best ways, they are often the safest.

Therefore, for the person who, by economic necessity, is driven out of the crowded rural area he understands into a town where new problems intrude for which old solutions may not work, the new environment may beckon with luxuries which often remain just beyond the grasp. All too often life becomes more austere rather than more rich. Under these circumstances the jealousy which was controlled in the village finds new expressions--often hostile ones. In the city no one cares about another, there is little incentive to support activities for the common good, the feeling of community is lost, the individual is often beset by resentful apathy, he cannot do much for himself because he does not know how, and those around him seem more intent on exploitation than succor.

An attempt on the part of the newly migrated urban inhabitant to utilize his vote in a democratic society to enhance his position might seem at first glance to be a logical step in overcoming such difficulties. However, as Hollnsteiner (1963) has pointed out, politically there is a sort of vertical division of power and influence into a number of competing factors. The allegiance of individuals is largely influenced by kinship. Over the last fifty years the political fortunes of various families waxed and waned. Individuals became prominent and raised others with them, but they did so as the leader of a group of persons held together by blood relationships, marriage and personal obligations.

There are a number of consequences which follow from this socio-political system. Tax discipline is very lax with the result that there is widespread evasion. If one does not belong to a powerful faction, he may have to arrange for protection from one or more factions. With political activities so highly personalized there is little encouragement for leaders to take other than the easiest and most expedient way out. There is accordingly little long-range planning or sacrifice of immediate matters in the interests of more remote objectives. Those who are not pleased with present administration policies feel every reason to switch their allegiance to other political leaders who promise more.

In summary, the Philippines and other developing countries are beset by a mammoth problem of more people than tools, by a population that is growing faster than the national product and by hopes that exceed opportunities. It is in this situation that many stresses have arisen which challenge many phases of the social order and tax to the limit the society's capacity to modify its institutions to meet the new requirements which grow more insistent all the while. If an individual in such a society feels that he will continue to be frustrated in his attempts to improve his present position and feels that no one is supporting him in his attempts to attain his desires, the social unrest thus generated may well take the form of antigovernment activity.

The Rate of Social Change in the Philippines

The Philippines, like many developing countries, has been recently showing an accelerating rate of social change. This transition takes many forms in both the material aspects of the culture and in the patterns of living of both rural and urban people. Although we may have heard of it only recently, this change has been going on for several decades, and in the longer view, for centuries. There does seem to be, however, firm ground for asserting that the change is more rapid now and is producing more social unrest than heretofore.

At the base of the change lie several factors which include a resurgent demand for material goods which cannot be produced in the home, population increasing so rapidly as to double in about thirty years, and an educational program which has raised aspirations of many of the people. There are many other factors, too; but, the net effect is a demand for goods and services which is increasing faster than the supply. The demand for manufactured goods takes many forms. New items such as transistor radios, automobiles, metal roofs, cosmetics, soft drinks, processed foods, and special items of clothing are eagerly sought. None of these are essential to the maintenance of life but are necessary for self-respect and satisfaction, especially among younger people. Since money is needed to purchase these and other items, many individuals seek at least temporary employment who would not do so otherwise. Possession of manufactured goods is seen as essential to the good life and is indeed often more or less equated with the good life. These are, however, used within the framework of the traditional patterns where there is an emphasis upon more or

less immediate consumption. Where few items of food or other possessions can long be preserved there is little emphasis upon systematic conservation or saving. For this reason, although manufactured goods may be scarce and costly, there is little attempt to save money to acquire them or to preserve and protect them once acquired. At the same time there is not much evidence that necessity is the mother of invention. In spite of strongly felt needs there is less improvisation and substitution than one might expect, although from time to time one can find outstanding exceptions to this more or less general rule.

The control of epidemic diseases, increased knowledge about sanitation and infant nutrition, and the increased availability of medical service have combined to raise life expectancy and probably also the rate of reproduction in the Philippines. Half the population is under 18. Large families are regarded with traditional pleasure as a sign of God's favor and of security in old age. Even if birth control information and devices were widely available, there is little reason to expect a marked decrease in birth rate. This young and increasingly fertile population is rapidly building up severe pressures in the rural areas. Frontier areas do not exist which can take up the extra people who cannot find enough farm land in rich and heavily populated lowlands. The mountain and upland areas have been thinly populated for centuries by slash-and-burn farmers. This is the only kind of agriculture which these tropical hillsides will support--as attested by the denuded and eroded hills of Cebu. Contrary to first impressions, it is not the cities which are seriously overcrowded, it is the countryside and small rural villages.

With no place to farm, many young men, and women, too, are migrating to cities where their limited skills command only starvation wages if they can find work at all. These people carry with them the longing for land. They will buy land if they ever amass enough money to do so. But so will wealthy Filipinos. Accordingly, the rising population is increasing the demand for land and is also forcing the price per hectare higher and higher.

Education, the third factor, has proven a mixed blessing. It is seen as the sole avenue of escape from the grinding toil and uncertainty of the peasant's life. All persons of high status are educated, and for this reason the badges of education are sought for status as well as for other reasons. However, the peasant's main contact is with the educated government functionary and not

with the educated artisan. With the former as a model, he seeks the kind of training which will enable him to keep the records and carry out the transactions of government. The result is that much of the educational effort does little to expand the supply of goods and services but does much to expand aspirations. There is then a surfeit of clerks and little to sell. There are many individuals who want to control the distribution of things but not enough to organize or execute the production of things. Stated in familiar terms there is only a limited middle class and there are fewer skilled workers than needed to produce the goods the people aspire to have.

The Process of Urbanization

The roles of migration and of increase in population are made more clear by Huke (1963, pp. 139-155). As of 1963 it is estimated that the population is increasing by 890,000 persons each year, a rate of growth of 3.2 percent.* The cities have been growing slightly faster than the population of the country as a whole. However, with very little unused land still available it is reasonable to expect that urban growth will absorb an increasingly higher percentage of the rising population. The cities will bear the brunt of the population explosion.

Keyfitz (1965) has provided a broader perspective on the political and economic aspects of urbanization in south and southeast Asia. With at least 80 percent of the population living outside of the cities and engaged in some form of food production these countries have only a small urban elite and a small industrial base. Stresses arise because the controlling elite often seek to use the nation's limited resources to import western goods. At the same time even though they speak the same tongue, there may be only a limited sharing of values and outlooks between the urban and the rural resident. Economic development depends in part on increasing the food production per

*The crude birth rate is estimated at 50 per thousand, relatively unchanged during the present century, while the death rate has fallen from 19 to seven per thousand during the last 40 years. The beliefs and attitudes of the people are likely to maintain a high birth rate for the foreseeable future, (Guthrie 1966, pp. 66-68) while the death rate has fallen with the improvement of health services, the control of epidemics and increased awareness of sound health practices.

hectare of land so that more city dwellers (industrial workers) can be supported who will in turn produce more goods for the awakening countryside as well as for the city.

We shall see that in the Philippines rural people thus are being pushed by population pressures and pulled by the attraction of an easier life toward the cities. It is interesting to note however that they experience directly only the latter force. Although census figures leave no doubt, it appears that the individual peasant does not feel that there are too many people in the village or family.

As population pressures mount and as desires for manufactured goods increase, people begin to migrate to cities and towns, leaving the rural surroundings they and their ancestors have known. The change of address is not as important as is the change of style of living. Changes in the social structure associated with modernization have been tabulated by Moore (1963). We reproduce here 16 changes which he felt were important.

1. The extensive mobility, both geographical and social, appropriate to industrializing and industrial societies has negative consequences for extended kinship systems and tends to reduce the close ties between adult generations and adult siblings.
2. Extensive "family disorganization" is likely to accompany the breakdown of traditional patterns and the incomplete establishment of new institutions.
3. Both mate selection and parent-child relationships are affected by the "individualism" that modernization fosters, even in societies with a collectivist ideology.
4. As the family ceases to be an economically productive unit, especially in the urban setting, the social position of women may actually deteriorate.
5. In these circumstances "informal" social controls are likely to be radically weakened, and formal agencies for maintaining order required.
6. For some urban dwellers the loss of intimate bonds with meaningful others with whom he has emotional ties will produce various symptoms of apathy and alienation. Alcoholism, various mental disorders, and drug addiction may well increase.
7. The need for literacy and for various levels of technical skills in the course of modernization leads to a great emphasis on schools and other agencies of education.

8. The major effect of mass communication is likely to be that of breaking down village isolation rather than inculcating any particular set of political attitudes.
9. The standardization of "popular culture" through the media of mass communication is likely to be less extreme than some critics fear.
10. Industrialization introduces a relatively sharp division between "work" and "leisure," a distinction either missing or vague in a tribal or agrarian society. Time-dispositions of all sorts are affected by this division, and leisure may become a problem for some sectors of the population, particularly for those whose jobs hold little intrinsic interest.
11. Modernization brings in its wake a proliferation of interest groups and associations, representing not only occupational or other economic interests and divisions but also various common interests.
12. Participation in associations, at least where it is voluntary, tends to be unequally distributed in the population.
13. Secular attitudes are encouraged by the "institutionalization of rationality," but rational orientations are not wholly satisfactory in handling all of life's problems.
14. The modes of social differentiation and the unequal allocation of social status and rewards to various positions and functions are affected in major degree by industrialization.
15. Income differences take on a special significance in industrialized societies. Income is the medium for allocating a growing number of services that may have been rendered on nonmarket bases in traditional societies. Income tends to be the major way of reliably ranking people in a uniform scale.
16. It is virtually certain that the widespread tensions and dislocations accompanying rapid social transformation will receive political attention and that some form of extensive political participation by the general public will be necessary for any regime able to continue in political control.

There are also changes in the economic organization according to Moore (1963).

1. The first major transformation involves incorporating what we may call the subsistence sector into the commercialized market system.
2. Industrialization entails a substantial reduction in the proportion of population directly engaged in agriculture.

3. Some shortage of skilled workers is an endemic condition in developing industrial societies, even though there may well be surpluses of unskilled workers or workers whose skills have become obsolete with technical change.
4. There is a long-term upgrading of minimum and average skill levels required in an industrial economy.
5. At finer grades of occupational distinction, the demand for highly trained professionals of all categories increases in the course of modernization.
6. The manning of the occupational structure of an industrial society requires a high degree of labor mobility.

Summary

Changes associated with urbanization in the Philippines produce new stresses and remove or weaken traditional methods of reducing grievances. Aspirations are raised without corresponding increment in skills necessary to achieve these greater needs. Accordingly, the people are likely to feel less satisfied and look back to what may be perceived as an idealized state-of-affairs. They examine the present and seek causes for their present frustrations. It is a remarkably short step to conclude that they do not have as much as they might because others, by various means, are withholding from them. This is an expression of a traditional belief that since there is only a certain amount to go around, if one has less than he needs, it is because others have too much.

There are many new demands imposed on an individual moving away from a traditional, peasant style of life. At the same time his habitual modes of relationship do not enable him to meet these demands with much success. These demands include (1) continued labor for fixed periods per day, (2) subordination to strangers who are indifferent to his welfare and possibly hostile, (3) a limitation on the size of the family both nuclear and extended due to inflexibility of available resources, (4) subjection to taxes which are essential for such social services as schools and public roads, (5) exposure to an unequal distribution of goods with the real danger that his share may decrease and only a limited possibility that his share will increase, (6) a loss of protection

from exploitation and theft. * (7) an increased feeling that what happens to him is in the hands of others. [He could tolerate fate, but he may try to fight against others whom he feels are causing his losses.]

In conclusion, we conceive the individual as equipped with a value system and a set of aspirations. His early socialization has led him to expect certain things from himself and from others. However, his desire for material goods, for status and for land can change more rapidly than his characteristic style of life. What he feels he needs can change more rapidly than what he feels is right. Social change, the encroachment of the city on him and his family, raises his desire for goods very quickly. Changes in his value system and on his personality and particularly work patterns is much slower. There is accordingly an imbalance; the individual desires what he and the society cannot provide. This is some approximation of the antecedents of social unrest and of the processes which maintain and enlarge disorganization. This is the situation in which individuals are particularly receptive to the appeals of those who offer a fair share, who promise freedom from perceived exploitation, who proclaim a doctrine of equality which removes the irritants of control by strangers, and who promise ultimately to deliver the goods which are currently being denied.

In short, the process of urbanization produces stress of a social nature. At the same time, however, it probably reduces substantially stress of an economic nature. The importance of the second component should not be underrated. The harsh economic realities associated with traditional rural life are substantial in the Philippines. This point is bolstered by the following quotation from a recent speech by President Marcos given to the National Congress on Rural Development, 7 February 1967. ** (To translate the President's statistics into U.S. dollars, recall that 3.7 pesos equal one dollar.)

*In a traditional community protection lay in everyone being acquainted with most of those around. Hospitality to strangers was possible because they were under surveillance. In the urban situations one cannot tell potential friend from potential foe.

**The speech was actually read by Vice President Lopez while President Marcos was recuperating from surgery.

Here are the facts as reported by the joint Legislative-Executive Tax Commission using 1960 as its base year; the total income of some 4.8 million family households in the Philippines amounted to ₱7,004 millions (seven billion four million pesos). Of this amount, 42.4% went to only 10% of the population, while the balance of 57.8% had to be divided among 90% of the population. Only 1.1% of the family households belonged to the upper income group, with an average income of almost ₱20,000 per year. At the other extreme, 83.1% of all Philippine family households belonged to the low-income group, with an average income of ₱836 per year or ₱69.75 per month per family household of five members. Only 15.8% of the families belonged in the middle income group, with an average income of ₱3,551 a year. Where does this leave our rural family households, which constitute about 70% of our total population? They are at the bottom of the income ladder with an average annual income of between ₱300 and ₱400 or less -- such a country is literally living on top of a social volcano, that can erupt any day with, or even without, the benefit of communist prodding. Such a country has no time to lose, but must mobilize without delay all the resources of the community to attack the social problem at its source, and launch a program of rural economic development.

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CHAPTER II
SOCIAL CHANGE AND INDIVIDUAL ASPIRATIONS

This chapter is concerned with an objective analysis of the way in which social change affects aspirations and desires of people who have experienced greater or lesser amounts of change. It is also aimed at testing specific hypothesis generated by a review of descriptive material such as that provided in Chapter I of this volume or the model offered in Chapter II of the previous report. The general hypothesis whose validity is under examination can be stated as follows: the greater the amount of social change experienced, the higher one's aspirations for things associated with a money economy, e.g., a regular monthly income, a prestige occupation or profession, the desire to provide an advanced education for one's children, and the wish to possess consumer goods associated with a higher standard of living. Conversely, the lesser the amount of social change experienced, the greater the emphasis placed upon such traditional values as the ownership of land per se, the desire for protective political influence, and the wish to hold political office (a traditional source of security and power).

The general hypothesis given above is felt to be the logical consequence of strong social forces acting in a manner depicted elsewhere in this report. It is anticipated that its trend would remain unchanged over a wide range of Philippine communities. However, due to the residue of traditional values that people in transition are likely to carry over from their recent past, it is felt that exceptions to this general rule would occur when, and only when, two conditions are satisfied. First, when aspirations are concerned with something which is a strong emotional issue in the traditional culture; and, second, when the continuation of a particular belief is not economically self-defeating for the individual.¹ An example of self-defeating behavior would be a situation in which a man's obligations in his extended family would be so increased if he received a raise in salary that he would actually have less funds to spend for himself if this raise were accepted and the traditional obligations honored.

¹ It was recognized that the exception clause can act as an escape hatch in testing the basic hypothesis, but the preponderance of evidence discussed in Chapter II of the first report in this series demands that such a moderator effect be considered.

Experimental Design

In order to simplify the task of interpreting results and drawing inferences concerning the validity of the hypothesis being tested, the following steps were taken. First, quantitative measures of subjective value were employed as an index of the level of one's aspirations. Second, the strength of the impact of social change was assessed by contrasting it with the strength of a better understood social force. The one selected was socio-economic status; by the use of a factorial design, the strength of both forces was studied when they acted alone and in various combinations. Third, in order to provide some test of the universality or generalizing ability of findings, the effects of social change and socio-economic status were studied over a range of different types of communities which met two criteria: First, they represented typical types of communities found in central Luzon and elsewhere in the Philippines. Second, they provided a reasonable amount of heterogeneity, which provided some basis for taking account of idiosyncratic community effects.

The impact of social change was investigated by taking quantitative measures of the aspirations of two groups of people. One was a population which had been exposed to a comparatively traditional mode of life. The second population had been exposed to a higher level of development and a more transitional (or semi-modern) way of life. Therefore, experimental manipulations were not performed physically as is the case in the social-scientific laboratory. Instead, it was done by selection as is usually the case in field studies.

This method of manipulation by selection had one disadvantage. The only practical way it could be implemented was to interview people who lived in a community which was judged to be either more traditional or transitional in nature. In following such a procedure it should be recognized that people in any community had been subjected to a number of idiosyncratic community effects as well, all of which could confound the design in some unknown way.

In order to circumvent this problem, four different sets of communities were studied where each "set" was a matched pair. That is, insofar as possible the communities were equated except with regard to the amount of social change they had experienced. Because of the wide range of things associated with social change, this matching reduced to such things as insuring that, (a) the dialect was the same, (b) nothing exceptional had occurred recently to one that had not

occurred to the other (such as experiencing a typhoon, earthquake, etc.), and (c) the bases of the economy were the same. For example, in the Philippines although a variety of crops might be grown in one area, or different activities may be followed, major emphasis is usually placed upon one -- such as growing sugar, rice, or coconuts, or fishing. Four pairs of communities were studied in this manner.

The actual choice of communities was done subjectively after conferring with anthropologists, sociologists, and rural sociologists who were familiar with communities in central Luzon. Of considerable benefit in this process was the use of personnel who had just completed a survey of 160 Philippine communities as part of a study conducted by Lynch and Maretski (1966). The socio-economic status of people in the communities was determined by using the criteria set forth by Lynch (1959). Specifically, a "big" person was one who had more than enough for subsistence and who was nominated by such key people as the mayor and priest. All other residents fell in the "little" people class.

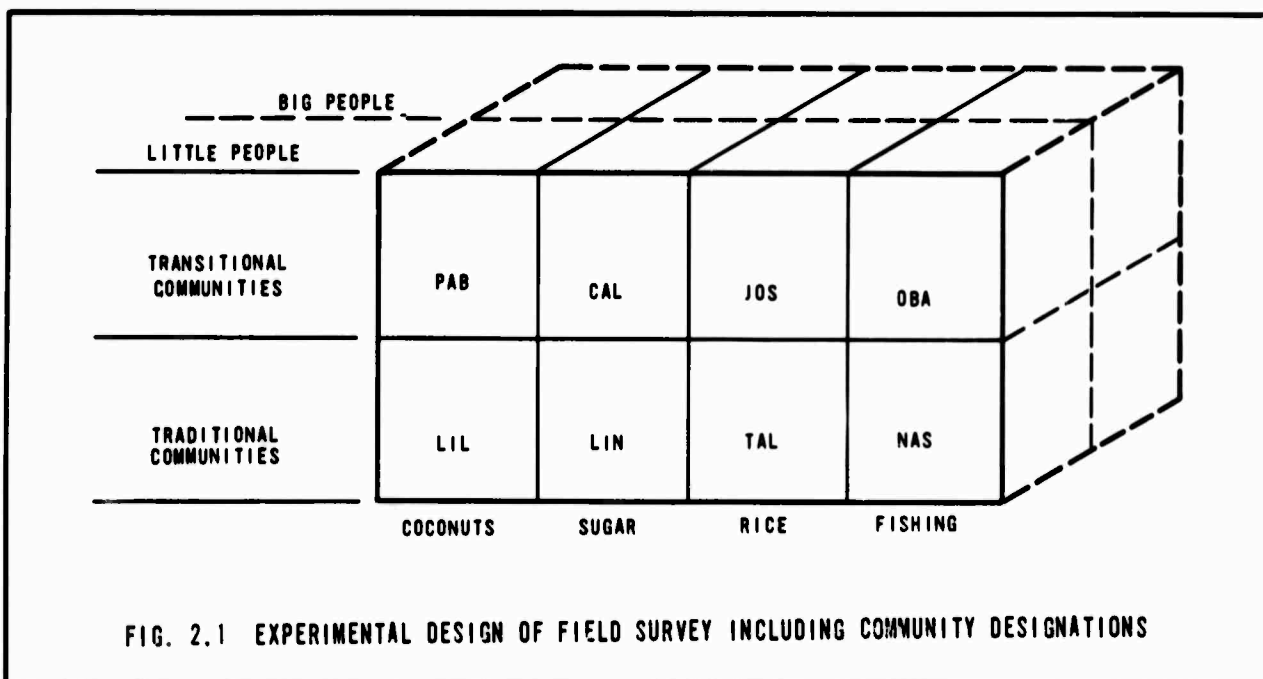
Once the population of respondents had been defined in sufficient detail to satisfy requirements defined above, a random sample was taken from each socio-economic status group using block sampling techniques. For example, in the case of little people, interviewers stopped at every fifth house on a street. When no one was available, the interviewer took the house on the right and then on the left, if necessary, until a respondent was found. It was frequently necessary to return repeatedly to find a respondent at home and with time available for the interview.*

Interviews were often conducted in the early morning, as early as 5:30 or at siesta time in the early afternoon. Refusals to cooperate were very infrequent, not more than one or two percent; and, in these cases, it was entirely possible that respondents were as busy as they had claimed. In spite of the lengthy interview, respondents were quite willing to give a couple of hours of their time and talk frankly about themselves and their community. A copy of the complete interview is given in Appendix A.

* It should be pointed out that our procedure tended to eliminate the Chinese from our sample. They were by and large not nominated as big people by the priest and mayor. Living above their stores near the main street, they were not picked up as respondents by the interviewers who got their sample of little people by going down the streets of poorer houses away from the plaza.

Approximately one hundred persons were interviewed in each of the eight Poblaciones studied (a Poblacion is roughly equivalent to a county seat in the U.S.). This goal was met by interviewing twenty to thirty people of high socio-economic status and seventy to eighty people of lower status. Insofar as possible, respondents were divided between those who lived in the Poblacion itself (most of the higher class people did) and those who lived in a nearby barrio (a hamlet).

In summary, interview data were gathered within a 2x2x4 factorial design of a field experiment where major variables were as follows: two levels of social change -- one traditional and one transitional; two levels of socio-economic status -- one group of big people and a second group of little people; and four different types of communities selected to cover a range of varied economic bases -- growing rice, sugar, coconuts, or fishing. The basic factorial design, which is shown in Figure 2.1, was mixed in that social change and community types were "between" community effects with socio-economic status being a "within" community effect. That is, study of the first two variables necessitated use of different communities while the impact of socio-economic status was examined within each of the eight communities.



Abbreviated names of each of the communities studied are shown in Figure 1.1. All were in central Luzon and all were Tagalog speaking. After pretraining and pilot testing, four interviewers were used, all of whom had recent experience in the previously mentioned survey of Lynch and Maretzki (1966). Each interviewed both a traditional and transitional village having the same economic base, e.g., sugar growing. To balance serial effects, two started in the transitional village and two started in the traditional village. Therefore, while the interviewer "effect" (differences between interviewers) was balanced with respect to the social change variable, it was confounded with the community-type variable. In an attempt to reduce bias caused by interviewer differences, frequent visits were made by a field supervisor and, at the start, weekly meetings were held in Manila to standardize interviewing practices.

Selection of communities was done in a way to insure that within each pair of communities there was comparatively little doubt that one was more traditional than the other. However, since there was no quantitative scale of "traditionalism" or "development" against which communities could be measured, there was no way to insure that the size of the difference was the same in all four pairs.* The significance of this factor plus the interviewer balancing problem discussed earlier was that the effects of community type along with its interaction with other variables had to be viewed with some restraint.

Description of the Poblacion

Since our research was concerned with residents of larger towns and small cities, it would seem desirable to offer a brief description of the Philippine Poblacion and its relationship to the country as a whole. The republic is divided into 56 provinces, with each province divided into municipalities. The municipality is identified by its principal town, the Poblacion. Thus, the municipality of Binan in Laguna province is made up of a city called Binan and a number of adjacent villages or barrios. The Poblacion is usually located on a major road or roads which connect it to other centers of population on the island. Access to the barrios varies from major roads, to feeder roads,

* This methodological deficiency has been corrected by devising a technique to be described in a later report in this series covering some ARPA funded research.

to footpaths. The Poblacion is ordinarily served by many busses from adjacent cities and particularly Manila. Where there are roads, the barrios are usually served by passenger-carrying jeeps called jeepneys. The Poblacion, therefore, acts as a focal point in contacts between the rural people and the world outside. This larger world is usually Manila or maybe the provincial capital.

Historically, the Poblacion was developed during Spanish times as an administrative and religious center. Ordinarily built around an open square or plaza, the Poblacion included government offices and a massive Catholic church. The wealthy and the ruling class lived adjacent to the plaza with poorer people living on bordering streets. Today, bus stations and jeepney parking areas have been added to the central city landscape. The horse-drawn buggy or Calesa has been largely replaced in the past five years by motorized pedicabs. With post office and telegraph facilities as well, almost everything from or for the rural people must pass through the Poblacion.

As in Spanish times, the government of the municipality is based in the Poblacion. Indeed, the government is often the major source of employment. In addition, there is a large market in which the major portion of retail activities takes place. The stalls in the market are rented to the vendors who may have produced the goods which they offer; usually, this is not the case. Virtually all needs of the rural people can be met in the market in food, clothing and in articles for their homes and farms. Some market vendors move from one market to another on market days; others stay in the same place six or seven days a week. There are usually one or more market days when considerable activity takes place; but, in all except the smallest markets, some business goes on each day.

Since the major portion of the food is produced locally, there are marked seasonal variations in supplies and prices. Sales are marked by bargaining which lengthens the time for the transaction and makes it more personal. However, since both participants have a rather clear idea of the going price of the commodity, it is doubtful that much is ultimately saved or earned during the bargaining process. Food products are displayed without the benefit of packaging or refrigeration which must result in some loss of nutrients and a certain sacrifice of sanitary considerations. Since each vendor sells only a small number of items, shopping is a time-consuming process. A second factor contributing to the amount of time spent shopping is the lack of adequate storage

facilities. Since the homemaker has limited storage facilities, she ordinarily is forced to shop at least once, and often twice, a day. With the purchase of small portions, and the need for frequent journeys to the market, the women of the Poblacion spend as much as twenty-five to fifty percent of their time shopping. In the poorer families, especially, people spend seventy-five percent or more of their income for food alone. The present development of wholesale and retailing practices -- which involves a relatively high labor component coupled with the sale of small portions -- results in relatively high prices for most food and other goods sold in the market.

The market has been described in some detail because it plays such an important part in the lives of the people. It takes up a major portion of the time of the housewives. It provides employment and income for both sexes and for young and old. Therefore, any significant change of marketing practices, such as the establishment of western style self-service food markets, automatically has a major impact upon the lives of the people of the Poblacion.

In addition to the market stalls, there are a number of stores in the Poblacion often operated by Chinese or by descendants of Chinese who have migrated to the Philippines in a continuing stream for hundreds of years. The Spanish found them as merchants and artisans when they arrived. There has been an equally long history of resentment of the Chinese which, in the past, flared into ugly massacres. In an effort to open the growth of the Philippine merchant class, recently the Philippine government has been trying to restrict many fields of activity to Filipinos. Anti-Chinese as well as "Filipino First," these regulations tend to bar non-Filipinos from having stalls in the markets. In all likelihood, however, Chinese continue to sell in the market using Filipino relatives as fronts.

On the streets near the market and the plaza, Chinese merchants run hardware stores, tailor shops, restaurants, drug stores, and bakeries side-by-side with Filipinos in the same businesses. The great majority of customers go to any store that will sell at lower prices or offer better merchandise. This economically objective behavior draws a continuing attack from politicians who call for favoritism for nationals in the retail trade. For their part, the Chinese struggle quietly to maintain their businesses, supporting the political campaigns of all major aspirants for office and underwriting many of the community social events.

In contrast to the market vendors, stores obtain much of their merchandise from wholesalers in Manila. These are the items which, by and large, distinguish life in the town from that in the countryside. Whereas the barrio resident uses little in his home that originates outside the municipality, the town resident is able to buy a good many home conveniences such as electrical appliances, prepared or processed foods and special articles of clothing which are not made locally. In addition, his home is constructed of many materials produced elsewhere.

Sometimes, the Poblacion has many of the conveniences of a modern city including a water system, electricity supplied by a local generating plant, telephone and telegraph, police protection, and local transportation primarily by pedicab.* There are a number of public elementary schools which provide training through the first six grades. There is usually a public high school. In addition, there are private schools at all stages including college. One or more movie houses show double features in Tagalog or in English. Finally, within the very recent past television sets have made their appearance in communities within range of Manila stations.

The Political Structure of the Poblacion

Although one sees and hears most about political activities at the national level in the Philippines, the political structure of the country is deeply rooted in politics at the community level. Government for the vast rank and file means local officials: mayors, councilors, police and possibly congressmen. Since this country relies on highly personalized relationships, individuals view the government primarily in terms of those government officials with whom they are personally acquainted. The result is a hierarchy from the peasant in the field through half a dozen levels of officials -- local lider, councilor, mayor, governor, congressman, and senator to president. Each official must be personally acquainted with hundreds of his subordinates, and he strives continually to expand his range of contacts with those above him. Since government is the biggest business in the community, its activities and decisions have a profound effect on the lives of all in the community. Politics, therefore, is a year-round concern.

* Usually a motor driven bicycle with a sidecar to carry a passenger.

There are three outstanding characteristics of local and national politics: personalism, paternalism, and shifting allegiances. In keeping with nonpolitical activities, political leaders in the Poblacion carry out the major portion of their activities on a person-to-person basis. To an outsider, this appears to open the door to all sorts of favoritism and partiality. By outside standards this may be true; but, for the Filipino participant, it makes life predictable and tolerable since his fortunes go up and down according to the success of those with whom he has close relationships. The situation is made more perplexing to Westerners by the outward appearance in titles and in statements of function of office holders which suggests a more dispassionate discharge of duties. This same personalistic style results in intense flamboyant political campaigns in which personal relationships become powerful determiners of success, and issues and abstractions are of less consequence. A few examples demonstrate this point.

The title "Father of the People," the traditional role of the mayor, epitomizes the strong paternalistic tradition in local Philippine politics. As any father must do, the mayor is expected to provide for his people who are in need, protect them from their enemies, and settle quarrels that arise among them. The ideal of the mayor is, therefore, a man of means, power, and wisdom. There is a good deal of prestige attached to the office of mayor and a considerable opportunity to influence the lives of many people. His paternal role is seen in many ways, particularly by the procession of little people seeking his advice, support, recommendation or conciliation. He responds by contacting responsible officials, lending money, interceding, reconciling, and encouraging. He is judged for his ability to get along with people and to make as many as possible feel that he is protecting and furthering their interests. In this role he is obliged to spend a good deal of money, more than his salary will permit. His costs also include an expensive campaign for the office and recurrent campaign expenses to maintain it. He must, therefore, be a man of means or have rich supporters who cover his expenses.*

* It is said that some mayors augment their income by receiving protection payments from "gambling joints" and other operations in the community which, while against the law, are tolerated in return for financial support. If this is true, the mayor becomes a sort of modern Robin Hood in the sense that the money he gets in socially unacceptable ways is used for highly desirable, socially necessary purposes.

In a system which places so much emphasis on the relationships between people and in which there is an intense struggle for power and prestige, it is inevitable that others will aspire to elective posts. With the extended family and ceremonial kinship system there develops a complicated sequence of compromising and exchanging so that one individual, unless he has unusually powerful resources in both money and connections, cannot long stay in power. Shifting allegiances are further encouraged by the fact that there simply is not enough in the community to meet everyone's expectations. As one individual said, "We vote against the incumbent because that is the only way we can make openings." There is additionally a sort of share-the-wealth attitude about public office which leads many to feel that offices should be passed around, among the elite at least.

In summary, the Poblacion politics, and physical characteristics, and economic organization make it an interesting point to study the urban-rural interface. In a study concerned with the impact of social change, these features were judged to be especially advantageous.

Method

This chapter attempts to identify aspirations of young male adults living in or near communities of the type described. The final distribution of people interviewed showed that 35% of the respondents were in their twenties, 40% in the thirties, nearly 25% in the forties, and a small group in their fifties. Older subjects were mainly big people. Since the number of such persons in any community was limited, it was necessary to interview older men on occasion.

Traditional communities in the study were comparatively insulated from city influences, goods, and work opportunities. Because of the lack of advanced educational facilities, those who went on to school had to leave to do so and were thus prepared to seek a career away from home eventually. The limited diversity of goods in the market and virtual absence of commercial entertainment meant that these people were more shut off from new things and new ideas than were their opposing numbers in the transitional communities. The latter were always situated on busy roads. Whether their bus services were a cause or a symptom of change is difficult to determine for frequent contact with Manila appeared to be both an agent in and an indication of change. The differences between the two types of communities were numerous; many could be seen by a casual visitor if he knew what to look for; others lay in the economic and

educational realm. A more detailed illustration of the differences between the two types of communities is given in Chapter Six of this report.

The basic data were derived from replies to seven open-ended questions concerning the interviewee's level of aspiration for each of the following: ownership of land, educational level for children, consumer goods, income level, acquisition of a profession, having political contacts, and holding political office. Responses were coded into categories by the interviewer. The questions asked and the categories into which responses were put were as follows:

First, how much farmland would you like to own? (a) none, (b) 3 hectares or less, (c) 6 hectares, (d) 10 hectares or less, and (e) more than 10 hectares. Second, what things would you like to own? (a) nothing more than what you have already, (b) a good watch, (c) a refrigerator, (d) a car, and (e) more than b, c, and d. Third, how much money would you like to earn each month? (a) very little, (b) 90 pesos or less, (c) 150 pesos or less, (d) 500 pesos or less, and (e) more than 500 pesos. Fourth, how far would you like your children to continue their education? (a) primary school, (b) high school, (c) trade or vocational school, (d) college, and (e) post graduate work. Fifth, what kind of profession or position would you like to have? (a) no particular job or any job, (b) regular self-employment, (c) a salaried job in big business, (d) professional, and (e) more (president of big business, etc.). Sixth, how high would you like to have contacts in government? (a) none, (b) governor, local officials, (c) congressman, (d) senator, and (e) more (president, etc.). Seventh, what political office would you like to hold? (a) none, (b) barrio captain, (c) municipal councilor, (d) mayor, and (e) higher office.

Each of the above questions was aimed at investigating what appeared to be a single underlying continuum. Since this was the case, arbitrary weights were assigned to the responses, e. g., (a) (was scored) as one, (b) as two, (c) as three, etc. Thus, each S had a score on each of seven variables which was an index of how high his aspirations were in that area. At the same time, however, no attempt was made to make a direct comparison of such scores across variables since the numbers may have represented vastly different values in each case. On all dimensions, a good distribution of responses occurred; i. e., each of the choices was selected by someone.

The basic technique employed was to pool responses of individual subjects to produce a generalized response pattern for a group of people selected as being representative of individuals who had experienced a particular combination of

social forces, e.g., big people who had experienced substantial amounts of social change. By contrasting their distribution of responses with that of another group selected to represent some other combination of social forces in operation, inferences were drawn concerning the impact of these forces upon aspirations of people in general.

In an attempt to increase data reliability, as well as eliminating some undesired individual difference variance, scores were averaged over Ss. The process involved randomly dividing responses of Ss in each of the sixteen treatment conditions into two groups of equal or near equal size.* A separate average was then computed for each half of the sixteen subgroups. Thus, the sampling variable in these analyses became groups of Ss instead of individual Ss. In the case of the big people, each score was an average of approximately fifteen individual scores. In the case of the little people, each group represented an average taken over thirty to thirty-five persons.

Of course, advantages gained from having more reliable data were substantially offset by a sizable loss of degrees of freedom (a normal correlate of power of a test of significance to detect differences). However, this more conservative technique appeared appropriate in view of the exploratory nature of the investigation. It also permitted an examination of major social forces apart from the issue of individual differences. The final advantage was a pragmatic one. It permitted analyses of data using available computer programs.

In summary, the impact of the three social forces described earlier was assessed by the use of a factorial analysis of variance. All analyses of variance were computed in the same fashion. Each separate subject group was assigned a score which was the average given by the n subjects within that group. There was a total of thirty-two separate subject groups -- with two appearing in each of the sixteen separate conditions which constituted a particular combination of socio-economic status, social change, and community type. Thus, we expected that data in each cell would be fairly reliable and would constitute a reasonable measure of the groups' consensus of opinion.

* The sixteen treatment conditions included all possible combinations of two social classes, four community types, and two social change levels (2x4x2).

The random choice procedure followed in selecting particular subject groupings within each of the sixteen different "social treatment" conditions was felt to provide a reasonable chance for within-group variance to show itself. Thus, the appropriate error term became the combined within-cell variance, or, in other words, the extent to which one random group differed from another random group of subjects who had experienced similar social conditions (e.g., one group of fifteen big people in a traditional rice growing community as opposed to a second grouping of 15 other big people from that same community). If most people who experienced a certain set of social conditions responded in a consistent manner, this "error" effect would tend to be small. If, however, there was a substantial divergence of opinion, the "error" term would be large and lead to non-significant results.

Hypothesis Concerning Aspirations

If the hypothesis being tested were true, one could expect the pattern of results depicted in Table 1. That is, in an analysis of variance of indices of aspirations concerning land, one would expect a significant F ratio associated with the social change variable. Further, the nature of the statistically significant difference would be that the transitional group could have generally lower scores than the traditional group. In contrast to this anticipated trend, one would expect the opposite when viewing aspirations concerning income level: the mean for transitional respondents should be significantly higher than the mean for traditional respondents.

TABLE 2. PREDICTED PATTERN OF LEVEL OF ASPIRATION SCORES BASED UPON THE PRESUMED INFLUENCE OF A TRADITIONAL OR TRANSITIONAL WAY OF LIFE							
	LAND	EDUCATION	CONSUMER GOODS	PROFESSION	INCOME LEVEL	POLITICAL CONTACTS	POLITICAL OFFICE
TRADITIONAL	HIGH	LOW	LOW	LOW	LOW	HIGH	HIGH
TRANSITIONAL	LOW	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	LOW

Since one's aspiration level is a function of his present status, it was also anticipated that significant differences would appear between the responses of big and little people. The nature of these would, in general, be that big people would have higher aspirations. As for the community-type effect, it was hoped that these would be comparatively minor. If they were found to be substantial, it would be some indication that idiosyncratic community effects associated with its major economic activity were important. This latter finding would indicate that generalizing results from case studies where only a single community was examined could be a practice open to considerable dispute.

Results Concerning Aspirations

Table 2.1 presents a general summary of the results of all seven analyses of variance. Since each dealt with the same social forces working alone and in various combinations, sources of variance remained the same. Similarly, the degrees of freedom remained constant throughout. The remainder of the table simply lists the F ratios obtained. Those with an asterisk describe cases when variations associated with that particular variable were sufficiently great that it was possible to reject the null hypothesis, i. e., that the difference which existed could not logically be attributed to chance alone.

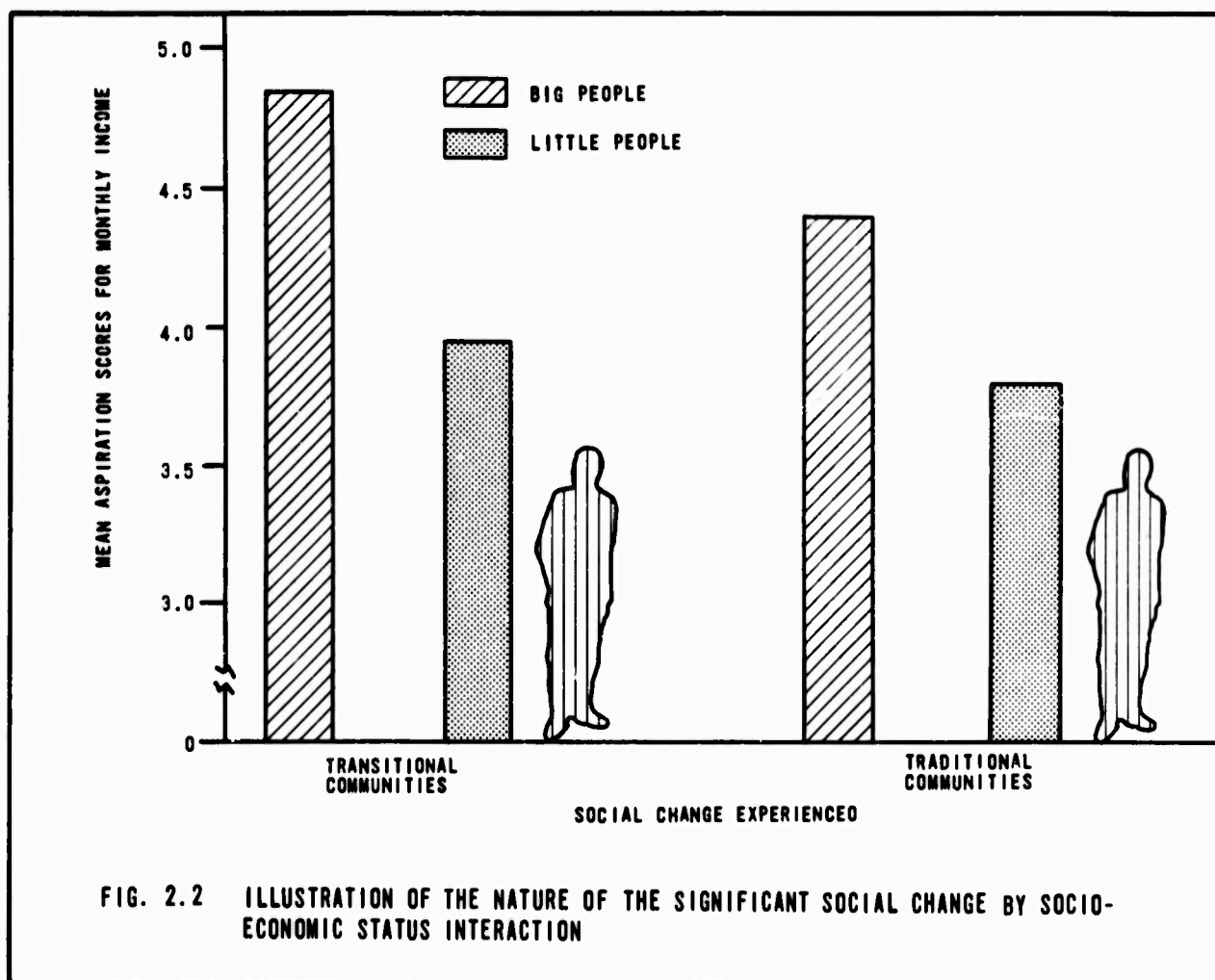
TABLE 2.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF ANALYSES OF ASPIRATIONS CONCERNING EACH OF SEVEN DIMENSIONS								
F RATIOS								
SOURCE	OF	DESIRE FOR LAND	EDUCATION	CONSUMER GOODS	PROFESSION	INCOME LEVEL	POLITICAL CONTACTS	POLITICAL OFFICE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (A)	1	42.047*	48.60*	85.360*	113.041*	256.895*	<1	10.839*
TRANSITIONAL VS. TRADITIONAL (B)	1	2.076	19.266*	4.540*	6.231*	21.494*	<1	<1
COMMUNITY TYPE (C)	3	21.647*	12.821*	46.670*	14.185*	<1	45.872*	21.141*
A x B	1	<1	<1	<1	20.522*	5.071	<1	<1
A x C	3	1.80	<2	3.077	<1	<1	1.779	3.477*
B x C	3	3.43*	5.266*	10.977*	5.364*	2.310	<1	3.268*
A x B x C	3	1.94	<2	<1	2.880	3.667	<1	1.321
ERROR	16							
TOTAL	31							

A review of the summary table pointed out several general trends. First, the most powerful social force (of those studied) acting upon one's aspirations was socio-economic status. Second, the impact of social change upon aspirations was comparatively modest when contrasted to the impact of socio-economic status. Third, the economic base of the community in which one lives has substantial impact upon an individual's aspirations. This finding led to the conclusion that whether or not one fishes, grows rice, sugar or coconuts influences what he aspires to have. Fourth, it appears that the most common type of interaction between social forces that has impact upon aspirations is one between the type of community in which one lives and the amount of social change experienced. This finding leads one to suspect that in order to describe adequately the nature of the impact of social change, the basic type of activity in the community should be taken into account. Fifth, it is apparent that aspirations involving a desire for political contacts appear to be comparatively unaffected by one's social status or how much social change he has experienced. Finally, the general hypothesis being tested was only partially substantiated.

A more detailed description of the nature of support given the general hypothesis (as well as obtaining a better feel for the analytical techniques employed) can be achieved by looking at Table 2.3. Here, results of the analysis of variance on the income dimension are presented in the conventional tabular form. This particular analysis is of special interest because it is one of the crucial cornerstones of the general hypothesis. Briefly, the idea is that social change would have its most clearly discernible impact upon an economic orientation associated with a money as opposed to a subsistence economy. Logically, a desire for a higher monthly income would be a crucial part of this shift in orientation.

An examination of the table of means showed that the nature of the effects of socio-economic status and social change were as expected. First, the higher one's socio-economic status, the higher his aspirations concerning a monthly income. Second, the greater the amount of social change experienced, the higher the aspiration for a monthly income. Third, and this finding was most interesting, the greater the amount of social change experienced, the greater the difference in aspirations for a monthly income between big and little people. This last finding was obtained by a review of the table of means associated with

SOURCE	OF	SUMS OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F RATIO
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (A)	1	457.531	457.531	256.895*
SOCIAL CHANGE (B)	1	38.281	38.281	21.494*
COMMUNITY TYPE (C)	3	4.094	1.385	1 <
A x B	1	9.032	9.032	5.071*
A x C	3	3.094	1.031	1 <
B x C	3	12.344	4.115	2.310
A x B x C	3	19.593	6.531	3.667
ERROR	18	28.500	1.781	
TOTAL	31	572.469		



the significant social class by social change interaction. The nature of this interaction is shown graphically in Figure 2.2.

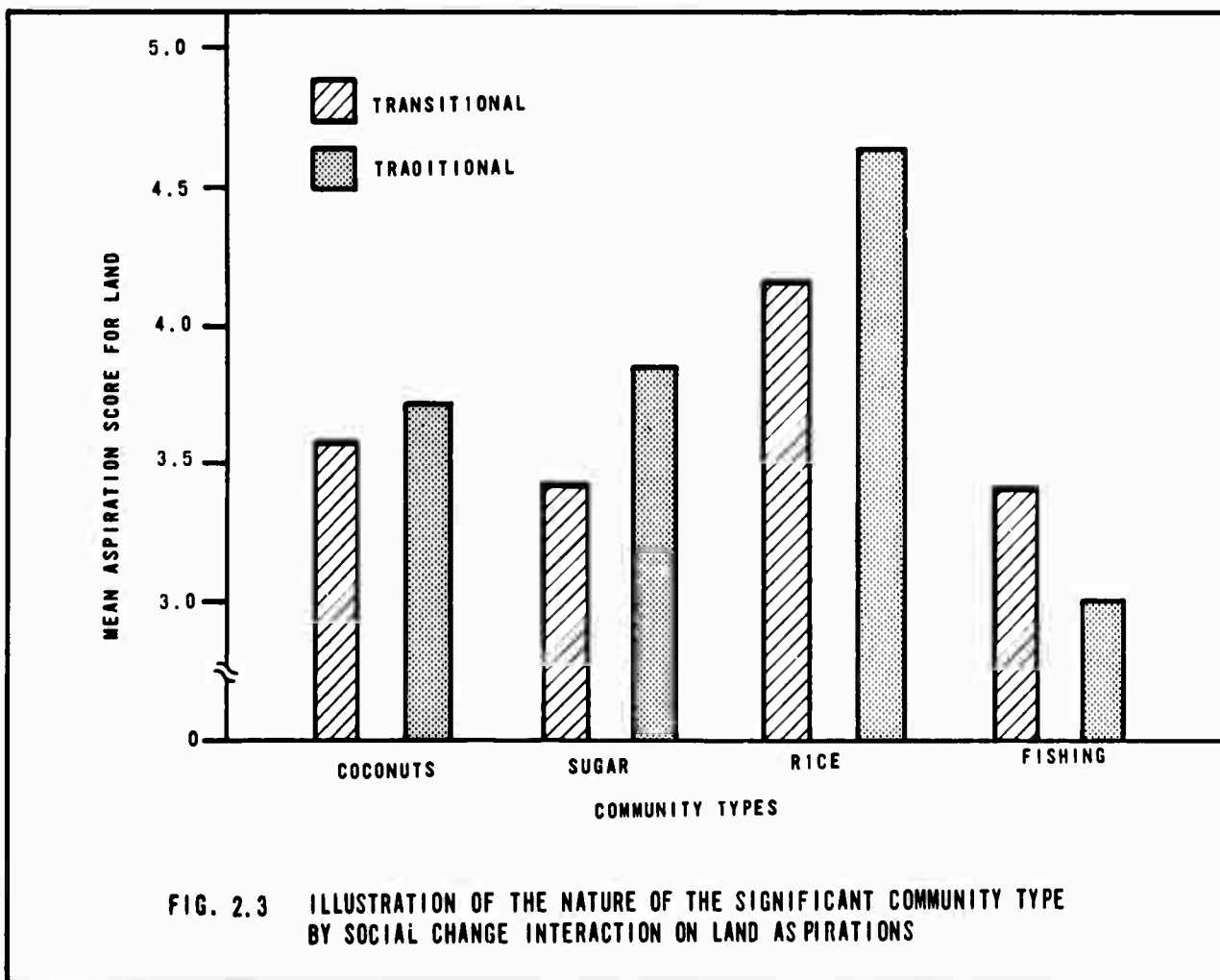
A second important implication of the general hypothesis is that social change should produce a statistically significant decrease in aspirations for land. That is, as people become more oriented toward a money economy, they become less dependent upon land needed to grow the food necessary for subsistence. A glance at Table 2.4 shows that this expectation was not confirmed. While the transitional respondents had a lower level of aspiration for land than was the case for traditional people, the difference was not statistically significant ($P < .25$ instead of $P < .05$). One possible reason for this appears to be explained by the significant community type by social change interaction, the nature of which is shown in Figure 2.3.

Apparently, the reason for the nonsignificant difference can be attributed to the fact that while the hypothesis accurately describes the case for mainland communities, it is completely wrong in the case of fishing villages. One interpretation of this finding, which is not altogether inconsistent with the basic hypothesis being tested, is as follows: First, as fishing communities undergo change, people may begin to aspire to owning land as a way of supplementing their income. This would seem to be the case for the transitional village used in the study which was located on the outskirts of Manila -- a place when land has high commercial value. Whether or not this finding is indicative of all fishing villages in central Luzon is open to dispute, however, since they would not be located as closely to Manila.

Figure 2.3 also shows the nature of the significant community-type effect. People in rice growing areas had higher aspirations for land. Generally, they would prefer something on the order of ten hectares. People in coconut and sugar areas did not have such high land aspirations and people in fishing villages generally had the lowest aspirations (between 3 and 6 hectares).

Effects of social change upon aspirations concerning ownership of consumer goods, educational level for one's children, and choice of an occupation or profession were all as predicted by the hypothesis. That is, regardless of one's social status or the type of community in which he lived, the greater the amount of change experienced, the greater one's desire for consumer goods. The transitional average tended toward ownership of a car as opposed to the traditional average which tended to be slightly in excess of a desire for a refrigerator.

TABLE 2.4 RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON ASPIRATIONS FOR LAND RESPONSES				
SOURCE	DF	SUMS OF SQUARES	MEAN SQUARES	F
(A) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	1	442.53	442.53	47.047*
(B) SOCIAL CHANGE	1	19.53	19.53	2.076
(C) COMMUNITY TYPE	3	610.84	203.61	21.005*
A x B	1	1.53	1.53	1<
A x C	3	50.84	16.94	1.80
B x C	3	96.84	32.28	3.43*
A x B x C	3	54.84	18.18	1.94
ERROR	16			
*INDICATES P < .05				



In the case of a desire of education for children, both traditional and transitional respondents aspired to putting their children through college. Still, the transitionals had a significantly higher mean aspiration level than the traditionals. As for desire for an occupation, both transitionals and traditionals aspired to a regular (secure) salaried job in business; again, transitional people had a slightly but significantly higher level of aspiration than the traditionals.

As anticipated, aspirations of big people were significantly higher than those of little people. With regard to consumer goods the difference was aspiring to a car vs. aspiring to a refrigerator. In the case of education for their children, big people aspired to at least a four-year degree program with some wishing advanced degree training. On aspirations regarding land, big people generally desired from six to ten hectares vs. three to six for little people. In the case of monthly income, big people aspired to more than five hundred pesos a month as opposed to the one hundred and fifty to five hundred pesos per month aspiration for little people. As for occupational preferences, aspirations of big people fell between a regular salary in business and a profession while the aspirations of little people fell between regular self-employment and a salaried job in business. Thus, in all except one case, concerning the desire for land, the impact of socio-economic status was similar in kind and greater in degree than the impact of social change.

In each of the three analyses concerning aspirations for education of one's children, consumer goods, and an occupation or profession, significant community effects were noted as well as a significant community type by social change interaction. The nature of the significant community-type effect is shown in Table 2.5. In all three cases (education for children, profession, consumer

TABLE 2.5 SUMMARY TABLE OF MEAN ASPIRATION FOR FOUR DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMMUNITIES FOR EACH OF THREE DIMENSIONS*				
COMMUNITY TYPE				
	SUGAR	COCONUTS	RICE	FISHING
EDUCATION	4.19	3.99	3.86	3.64
PROFESSION	3.70	3.22	2.68	2.81
CONSUMER GOODS	4.01	3.85	3.21	3.01

*SCORE CODE GIVEN ON PAGE 37.

goods) the sugar growing communities had the highest aspirations with coconut communities being a close second. Rice communities were third with respect to education for children and a desire for consumer goods and last with respect to occupational or professional aspirations. Aspirations were generally lowest in the fishing villages. Aspirations concerning education were fairly homogeneous and considerably heterogeneous in the other two cases.

In the cases of aspirations concerning education for one's children, professional status, and consumer goods the significant B x C interaction merits explanation. In the case of desire for education for children, where fishing villages had significantly lower aspiration levels than the other three types of communities, these same villages showed a larger than average effect due to social change; i. e., the aspirations of the transitional fishing village exceeded aspirations for the traditional fishing village by an amount which was substantially larger than that observed in the other three types of villages. These results would appear to indicate that it might have been profitable to treat fishing villages separately as far as the magnitude of the effect was concerned. In other words, predictions regarding the impact of social change were most clearly substantiated in the fishing villages and considerably less clearly in the other villages although the direction of the difference was as anticipated in all cases. The reason for this probably lay in the generally high emphasis placed upon education across the entire sample. The grand mean was close to 4, which indicated a universal desire for one's children to finish a four-year college program.

In the case of aspirations for a profession or position, a significant interaction (B x C) occurred as a result of the rice communities, showing a trend clearly opposite to the general one; i. e., the traditional rice community had higher aspirations than the transitional one. There appears to be no easy way to interpret these results other than saying that our predictions were not borne out in the rice communities. With respect to desire for consumer goods, the nature of the interaction was the same as that noted above. Evidently, aspirations in the traditional rice community were surprisingly high.

When it came to politics, it was obvious that all Filipinos took it seriously. Everyone wanted connections at the national level, e. g., a congressman or senator. Social change and even socio-economic status made no difference. The only difference was that the rice and coconut communities wanted higher political connections than the other two types of communities. Coupled with this desire

for political connections was a general desire to hold office at the local level -- or no office at all. Again, the rice and coconut communities were highest in interest in this area. It suffices to say that as far as politics is concerned, predictions were not upheld and answers to the two questions appeared somewhat inconsistent. Perhaps the emotionally charged atmosphere of elections in the Philippines made these values very slow to change and difficult to assess. Anyone familiar with the country could attest to the emotionality present during elections. Also, political connections would have appeared to be useful in the Philippines for anyone at any stage of development. The emphasis placed upon politics in the rice communities appeared especially interesting when combined with information concerning the generally heightened aspirations of the traditional rice community discussed above. Perhaps this was an indication of higher social stress in that community.

Summary and Discussion

The overall trend of the data indicates that while the general hypothesis offered at the beginning of the chapter appears to be true as far as it goes, it is not sufficiently detailed to account for specific behavior. Time and time again, the type of community in which one lived was shown to have substantial impact upon his aspirations. While this finding probably is not a surprise to a geographer or agriculturalist, it could be to other behavioral scientists. What is clearly needed is a more systematic investigation of these effects per se in a design where confounding is eliminated.

The second generalization which can be made concerns the nature of the impact of social change upon individual aspirations; evidently it is much the same as the impact of socio-economic status. An index of the relative strength of these two forces was obtained by contrasting the proportions of variance associated by each variable (which is a function of the relative size of the sums of squares associated with each). When this was done, it was found that social change had from one-twentieth to one-tenth the impact of social status. This finding suggests that when shifts of the type associated with change are ingrained within a family structure, they have much more impact. This extrapolation appears to be consistent with some of the recent findings showing the impact of poverty programs and educational assistance to underprivileged Americans. No matter how hard we wish it were not true, substantial environmental changes occur more

quickly than changes in individual values. Perhaps there is some way to utilize the family influence to better advantage in planned social action programs; but, a review of results of years of work in developmental assistance programs indicates that the task is not a simple one.

The third finding of general importance is that social change appears to produce a greater difference between the aspirations of different socio-economic classes. That is, with change, or a more advanced stage of economic development, aspirations of different classes diverge more clearly. Later chapters will show that roles change substantially in the process as well. The same is true of values. All of this would lead to the expectation that developing countries can anticipate the need to facilitate interclass communications and reconcile class differences which occur as a function of development. Unless precautions are taken, groups could easily progress to a point where they understood little of each other -- a situation which is open to exploitation by a third party wishing to promote conflict between social classes.

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CHAPTER III

PRESENT STATUS AND PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF ASPIRATION DIMENSIONS

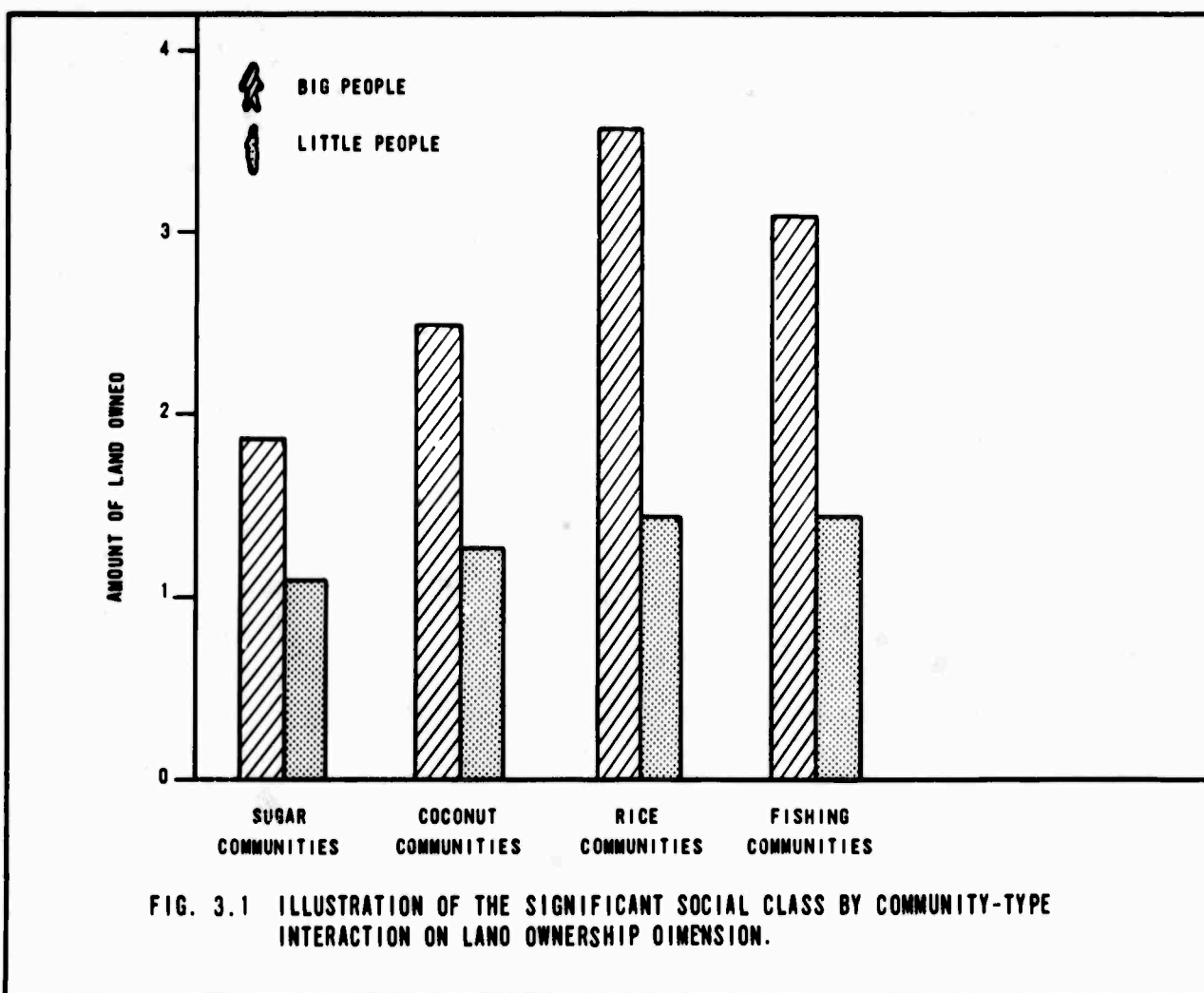
In the preceding chapter aspirations of various representative groups of lowland Filipinos were contrasted in an attempt to define the measurable attitudinal impact of social change. While the data presented were informative, they were incomplete in two respects. First, it is well known that one's level of aspiration varies as a function of his present status. That is, the more one has, the higher his aspirations. Therefore, any comprehensive study of aspirations should take into account one's present status. The second omission regards another way of examining the validity of the general hypothesis tested in Chapter II. Specifically, if the impact of social change is as described by the general hypothesis, it would appear that social change would not only produce differences in aspiration levels on certain selected dimensions but also should tend to influence the amount of subjective importance attached to various dimensions as well. That is, the overall rank order of importance of the seven dimensions discussed previously would vary as a function of the amount of social change experienced.

This chapter presents an analysis of data relevant to both of these questions. The analytical technique employed was the same as that described in the previous chapter, i. e., a 2x2x4 factorial design evaluated by analysis of variance. Ratings of the respondents' present statuses on each of the seven dimensions were made by the interviewers. Data relevant to the second question were obtained by having respondents rank the seven dimensions with respect to their overall importance to them. In both cases, the data were pooled using procedures discussed in the previous chapter. For the sake of brevity this material will not be repeated here.

Overall Differences in Present Status

Table 3.1 provides an overall statistical comparison of present status as a function of each of the three major variables under investigation. In all seven cases socio-economic status had statistically significant and sizable effects. This finding was not particularly surprising since it should be almost true by definition, assuming that respondents were selected properly. What should be noted, however, is that significant differences appeared in both political dimensions, contrasted to the case of the level of aspiration analyses, where no significant

TABLE 3.1 SUMMARY OF ANALYSES OF VARIANCE ON PRESENT STATUS ALONG EACH OF SEVEN SEPARATE DIMENSIONS.								
SOURCE	F RATIOS							
	OF	LAND	CONSUMER GOODS	INCOME	EDUCATION	PROFESSION	POLITICAL CONTACTS	POLITICAL OFFICE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (A)	1	120.34*	351.58*	789.40*	247.70*	253.12*	252.23*	38.33*
SOCIAL CHANGE (B)	1	1 <	95.84*	81.22*	38.78*	3.12	5.92*	1 <
COMMUNITY TYPE (C)	3	11.371*	12.78*	4.09*	30.78*	8.25*	30.30*	1.97
A X B	1	1 <	18.82*	4.96	11.54*	38.12*	7.23*	1 <
A X C	3	5.42*	5.34	1.86	4.18*	9.08*	2.80	2.19
B X C	3	5.05*	1.38	9.12*	8.70*	3.08	15.25*	1.44
A X B X C	3	3.99	2.18	4.51*	8.44*	3.42	2.61	1.44
ERROR	18							



differences were noted. This apparent inconsistency merits more detailed investigation. The second finding was in regard to social change. Statistically significant and sizable effects were found with respect to the following dimensions: consumer goods possessed, present monthly income, and level of education achieved by the respondent. When social change effects were not statistically significant acting alone, they led to significant interactions in the following cases: when paired with the community-type effect on the land, income, education, and political contact dimensions; and when paired with social status on the consumer goods, education, occupational status, and political contact dimensions. Obviously, more detailed analyses of the nature of these effects are in order -- including an appraisal of their consistency with conclusions derived from the aspiration level analyses. The final point regarding community-type effects was similar in nature. The major difference between this factor and results of the aspiration analysis of the same factor was that the size of this effect appeared to be less even though it was statistically significant more often, i. e., in all except the case of level of political office presently held. In view of the large number of significant findings the easiest course of action is to provide a more detailed treatment of each of the seven separate analyses summarized in Table 3.1. Later, in the summary and conclusion section these findings are interpreted with respect to those discussed in Chapter II.

Land Ownership

As one might expect, the amount of land owned was strongly influenced by socio-economic status. For example, big people on the average owned from three to six hectares while little people owned either no land at all or less than three hectares in most cases. This general pattern remained the same across both traditional and transitional communities and across all four types of communities. That is, in all cases big people owned substantially more than little people, which in itself is true by definition and hardly a surprise.

A second effect of social status which was more subtle in nature was demonstrated by the significant community-type-by-social-class interaction. To begin, it was found that land ownership varied as a function of the type of community in which one lived: residents of rice communities had the most land; the second largest group of landowners were, surprisingly, residents of fishing communities; residents of coconut communities were in third place, and residents of

sugar communities held the least amounts of land. Given the nature of this significant community-type effect and the socio-economic status effect described above, the interaction effect is shown in Figure 3.1.

The figure shows rather clearly that no matter what type of community was being considered, the average amount of land owned by little people varied only slightly. What changed much more noticeably was the amount of land owned by big people. Putting these two facts together led to an interesting finding: as more land was owned in general, the difference between what was held by big and little people increased in magnitude. Note in Figure 3.1 that the difference between land holdings of big and little people was: greatest in the rice communities (which in general had the most land); next greatest was in the fishing communities (which had the second greatest amounts of land), etc. In other words, it appears that when there is more land to be had, people of higher social status have most of it.

The impact of social change on land ownership was subtle and indirect. It appeared in the form of a significant social-change-by-community-type interaction, the nature of which is illustrated in the table of means given in Table 3.2. As was the case in the analysis of aspirations for land discussed in Chapter II, residents of the transitional fishing community held more land than residents of the traditional fishing community. Further, this difference was in contrast to the trend in the three mainland villages. In two cases, the impact of social change upon land ownership in mainland villages was sufficiently slight to be difficult to discern. In the case of the coconut communities, there was a clear trend opposite to the one noted in the fishing villages.

Interpreting this effect is not especially easy. One logical explanation is that it was an artifact caused by idiosyncratic features of the particular communities selected. The transitional coconut community, for example, had a large coconut plantation which provided housing for workers, gardening plots for employees, etc. Therefore, there was little need for land ownership on the part of most people. The transitional fishing community, on the other hand, was located just outside Manila where land had high commercial value. Big people here may simply have been investing in real estate. In short, this statistically significant finding was assumed to have little practical significance because there was no clear-cut general trend and because it could be reasonably explained as nothing more than a field experiment artifact.

Consumer Goods

As Table 3.1 demonstrates, ownership of consumer goods was affected by a number of social forces. The one having the greatest impact was socio-

TABLE 3.2 ILLUSTRATION OF THE SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL-CHANGE-BY-COMMUNITY-TYPE INTERACTION ON THE LAND OWNERSHIP DIMENSION (TABLE OF MEANS)				
COMMUNITY TYPES				
	SUGAR	COCONUTS	RICE	FISHING
TRANSITIONAL COMMUNITIES	1.50	1.42	2.50	2.50
TRADITIONAL COMMUNITIES	1.45	2.33	2.58	1.95

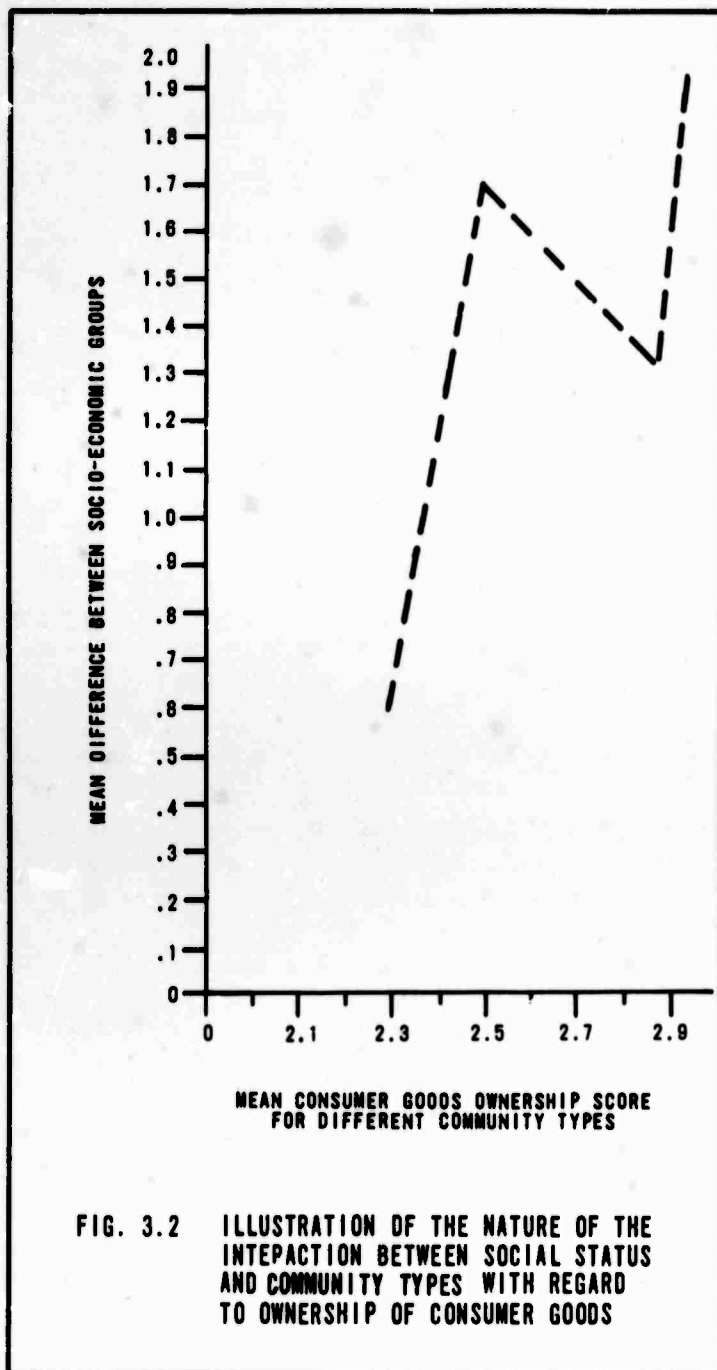
economic status. The level of consumer goods owned by big people in general fell between a refrigerator and a car: that of little people on the average fell slightly lower than the level of affluence indicated by ownership of a watch. The impact of social class was also discernible in more subtle form when examining the two significant interaction effects. One was the now

familiar pattern that the greater the amount of social change experienced, the greater the impact of socio-economic status on ownership of consumer goods. This fact was amply demonstrated by a comparison of the size of the differences between big and little people's holdings in the two types of communities.

The second indirect influence of social status appears in the form of a significant interaction with the community-type variable. Therefore, prior to describing it, it is necessary to review the nature of the significant community effect. Briefly, the level of consumer goods ownership was greatest in the coconut and sugar communities and lowest in the rice communities. Fishing villages appeared to fall in the middle; although the size of the entire range was not sufficiently great to be certain of this judgment.*

The nature of the socio-economic-status-by-community-type interaction is shown graphically in Figure 3.2. Although the relationship between the two sets of scores is not perfectly monotonic, a general trend is discernible. Essentially it leads to the same conclusion as was the case in land ownership; namely, that the greater the level of possession of consumer goods, the greater the discrepancy in possession between big and little people. For example, mean scores of

* Although series of ex post facto comparisons of means were not computed in each case, it is doubtful that clear-cut separations between means would be found if they were.



big people in the four different types of communities ranged from 2.97 to 3.98. In the case of the little people the spread ranged from 1.65 to 2.28. Obviously, the range of the former is greater than that of the latter although the trend is not quite as straightforward as was the case in ownership of land. Probably, part of this masking is caused by the fact that community differences were not as sizable in this case.

The impact of social change was found to be similar in kind to that of socio-economic status, a finding consistent with most analyses in the study. Transitional people possess a significantly higher level of consumer goods than do traditional people. Further, the strength of this impact was considerable, being approximately thirty percent as great as the impact of socio-economic status. Since the very nature of social status demands that sizable economic discrepancies exist, this statement appears all the more important.

Monthly Income Level

The amount of income earned each month was also found to be influenced by a number of factors, the primary one being social status. The average for big people was roughly equal to (or greater than) five hundred pesos per month while the average monthly income of little people fell between ninety and one hundred fifty pesos per month. Further, this one variable accounted for approximately eighty percent of the variance noted in the entire analysis, which is a clear indication of the strength of its impact. No easy interpretation could be made of the significant social-class-by-social-change-by-community-type interaction, however, especially in view of the fact that social change did not interact with either variable alone. Probably, this finding was caused by the carry-over of the strong social-change-by-community-type interaction.*

The impact of social change was again similar to that of socio-economic status; i. e., the greater the amount of change experienced, the greater the monthly income. While the impact was similar in kind to that of socio-economic status, it was less in degree, with social change accounting for only fifteen percent as much variance as was associated with social status. The nature of the social-change-by-community-type interaction was readily interpretable. The difference in monthly income level between the traditional and transitional fishing villages was much smaller in size than was the case in the three mainland communities. There appears to be no easy explanation of this finding, especially after one examines the community-type effect, which was not particularly large -- although statistically significant. Rice communities had the highest average monthly income, followed by coconut, fishing, and sugar communities, respectively.

Educational Attainment

Results of analyses of level of education data are interesting for two reasons. First, all three social factors of interest were found to have a significant impact when appearing not only alone but in the case of all interactions as well. Second, even the casual traveler to the Philippines, especially if he has been elsewhere in the world visiting developing countries, is struck by the fact that the human

* First-order interactions, if sufficiently strong, can lead to significant second-order interactions.

resource potential of the Philippines is enormous (by comparison). Even granting the fact that numerous diploma mills exist, a large body of trained, competent people appears to exist. The problem is to prepare economic and social circumstances to exploit this potential. The results presented below should be viewed with this point in mind.

The first departure from findings regarding the three dimensions discussed so far is that while socio-economic status is still the most important single social factor, it accounts for less than sixty percent of the total variance -- instead of the eighty percent plus found in other analyses. Roughly, the impact of socio-economic status is the difference between a high school and college education. The interaction of socio-economic status and other forces is also fairly straightforward. As has been found throughout this study, differences in educational levels between big and little people were almost twice as great in transitional villages as was the case in traditional communities. Again, it was the big people who changed most when they experienced social change. The nature of the interaction with community types was that the size of the discrepancy in education between the two social classes was only half as large in the fishing communities as it was elsewhere. Even here, though, the difference was substantial and of considerable practical significance.

The impact of social change was similar to that of socio-economic status and about one-sixth as strong. Transitional people had a substantially higher mean educational level than the traditional people. It is the interaction with community types that is most interesting, however. Here, it was found that the difference in mean educational level between transitional and traditional communities was approximately three times greater in the fishing villages than in the three types of mainland villages. In the fishing villages, change was the difference between a primary school education and vocational training beyond high school. From such results one gets the impression that social change provides the potential for progress, and socio-economic status the savoir faire to make the most of it.

The last remaining effect to be discussed regards the impact of living in different types of communities. Sugar communities had the highest educational level followed by coconuts, rice, and fishing communities, respectively. The spread of means was substantial. No attempt was made to interpret the significant three-way interaction since it could easily have been a carry-over effect of the three significant two-way interactions.

Occupational Status

Far and away the most important impact upon occupational status is socio-economic status. When its effects were considered alone, it accounted for more than eighty percent of the total variance. Also, acting alone or in interaction it accounted for three of the four significant F ratios obtained. On the whole, excluding private businessmen, big people were either salaried or professional people while little people were self-employed or salaried. Again, this difference between occupational levels associated with social class was more than twice as great in transitional communities as traditional communities. In fishing villages social status had approximately half the impact upon occupational level than it did in the three types of mainland communities. Still, in this case, it was substantial. The only other significant finding was caused by the coconut communities having a slightly higher mean occupational level than the other communities.

Political Dimensions

Since the last two dimensions to be considered are related, they are discussed jointly. First, with regard to present status on the holding of political office, only one significant F ratio was found. Predictably, it was associated with socio-economic status, with big people participating more in politics than little people -- largely at the local level. On the dimension of political contacts a total of five significant F ratios was noted. Again social status had the greatest impact, accounting for more than eighty percent of the variance by itself.

The major difference between the connections of big and little people is that those of the former group were national while those of the latter were regional or local. Again, an interaction with social change was noted of the type that there was a greater discrepancy between the level of political connections of big and little people in transitional communities than was the case in traditional communities. Specifically, it was about one and a half times greater in transitional areas than in traditional areas. While this finding is consistent with all previous findings, it is especially important in this case because the nature of the social change impact was just the opposite of all others discussed in this chapter; i. e., the transitionals had a lower level of political contacts than the traditionals. What occurred was that when greater amounts of social change were experienced, the level of political contacts of big people showed no significant change, but the level of political contacts of little people underwent a significant decline.

There are many possible interpretations of this interesting finding. One is that in a more modern economy with a more impersonal governmental arrangement, people do not feel the need to press for political connections. Another explanation is that change involves urbanization and that the sheer difficulty of getting to meet local officials in larger communities makes the task too difficult for some little people. A third is that big people are more enterprising in maintaining political connections in the face of difficulties than is the case with little people. It is doubtful that any single explanation would suffice, but each of the above could appear to have some validity.

The community differences were especially large in the case of the political connection dimension. It had about forty percent the impact of social status and accounted for more than twenty-five percent of the total variance. Rice communities had significantly higher contacts than coconut and sugar communities; they, in turn, had significantly higher contacts than fishing communities. The level of connections in the rice communities was almost twice that of the fishing communities. The social-change-by-community-type interaction was uninterpretable since each type of community showed its own individual trend: some were unaffected by change, some had their contacts increased by it, and some had their contacts decreased by it.

Differences in Perceived Importance of Dimensions

The order of importance with which respondents viewed various dimensions was determined by asking respondents to select the most important dimension, the second most important, the third most, and then the fourth most. The first choice was scored as a five, the second a four, the third a three, the fourth as a two, and all others were assigned a score of one. A general summary of the resulting seven analyses of variance is provided in Table 3.3. As is fairly apparent there was a substantial consensus of opinion about which dimensions were most important. For example, the grand mean on the education dimension was 3.88, indicating that it was almost always a first, second, or third choice. By contrast, the grand mean of scores on the political connections dimension was 1.28, which was only slightly higher than the grand mean on the political office dimension, which was 1.21. Obviously, the two political dimensions rarely were among the top four choices. Somewhat surprisingly the grand mean for the consumer goods dimension was 1.35, which puts it almost in the same class as the two political dimensions.

TABLE 3.3 SUMMARY OF ANALYSES OF VARIANCE ON RELATIVE IMPORTANCE PLACED UPON EACH OF SEVEN DIMENSIONS

F RATIOS								
SOURCE	OF	LAND	CONSUMER GOODS	INCOME	OCCUPATION OR EDUCATION	PROFESSION	POLITICAL CONTACTS	POLITICAL OFFICE
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (A)	1	61.28*	11.88*	28.00*	7.21*	2.17	1 <	1 <
SOCIAL CHANGE (B)	1	4.27	8.73*	7.00*	1 <	1 <	1 <	1 <
COMMUNITY TYPE (C)	3	10.99*	13.98*	32.34*	3.01	16.82*	5.42*	2.05
A X B	1	13.65*	3.88	6.04*	8.14*	2.17	4.65*	1 <
A X C	3	4.93*	1 <	12.31*	2.28	4.18*	1 <	2.48
B X C	3	5.23*	9.46*	4.88*	3.55	11.86*	1 <	1 <
A X B X C	3	1 <	1.69	3.44	1 <	1.37	2.39	2.07
ERROR	16							

Results such as those summarized above have special methodological significance because it means that the analyses of variance are being computed on highly skewed data, something which generally decreases the power of the test to reject the null hypothesis and affects the incidence of Type I errors. For that reason, results of these more dubious tests will be reviewed only generally prior to progressing to the remaining dimensions where a reasonable distribution of scores was obtained.

Politics, Education, and Consumer Goods

Nothing was significant with regard to the impact of any social factor upon importance attached to the desire to hold political office. Results of the analyses on the importance attached to political contacts were somewhat confusing. A significant interaction occurred between social class and social change. Its nature was that in traditional communities, big people placed more importance on political contacts than little people while in transitional communities the opposite was true. The significant community effect was that rice communities placed significantly less importance to this dimension than did the sugar communities. While these findings are somewhat inconsistent with expectations gained from previous analyses, not too much importance is placed upon them because of the small number of people in the entire sample who thought either dimension belonged in the top four dimensions.

Results of the analysis on the consumer goods dimension were more consistent with previously reviewed findings. Big people mentioned them more frequently than little people, transitionals more than traditionals, and residents of rice growing communities the least. A significant community-type-by-social-change interaction appeared in the sugar and rice communities, which showed little variation with social change; while the other two communities showed a substantial influence of the type described above; i. e., transitional residents placed more importance upon the dimension than traditional residents.

Importance of Land Ownership

The grand mean attached to the land ownership dimension was 3.09 which indicates a satisfactory distribution of responses to merit detailed discussion. Here a number of interesting things were noted. First, the importance attached to land ownership was greater for little people than for big people. The same was true for traditionals vs. transitionals, although this effect was not statistically significant. The significant community effect was caused by residents in the rice communities viewing the dimension as being extremely important (a mean of 3.55). By contrast, land was perceived as being less important by sugar and coconut area residents (3.05 and 3.00, respectively) and lower still for the fishing communities (2.76). All of these results are generally consistent with the pattern of results reviewed earlier. The findings with respect to social status and social change in general tend to support the general hypothesis being advanced in Chapter II.

The significant social-change-by-social-status interaction was that transitional big people downgraded the importance of land when contrasted with their traditional counterparts while the little people still placed great importance on land ownership regardless of the amount of change they had experienced. This finding suggests that big people are more receptive to the values of a modern society and are more flexible in disregarding traditional beliefs. Coupling this with some facts reviewed in Chapter V, where big people were shown to be discarding extended family obligation notions, and numerous other observations made throughout this report, one wonders that the most plausible and effective strategy for planned social change may be to help the more receptive big people first and the less receptive little people second.

The nature of the social-change-by-community-type interaction was that the tendency of traditionals to place more importance upon land ownership than transitionals, which was discernible in the three types of mainland villages, was reversed in the fishing villages. Again, the two interpretations presented in Chapter II appear appropriate since this is exactly what occurred in the case of aspirations for land. The interpretation can be summarized as follows: First, this may merely reflect a more modern mode of thought for fishermen to look to real estate as a way of supplementing their income. Second, this tendency may be amplified by the fact that the transitional fishing community selected was too close to Manila, a place where land has high commercial value. The last interaction, between social class and community types, was simply a matter of the size of the mean difference scores between classes varying from community to community.

Importance of a Regular Monthly Income

Assuming that social change's impact upon value systems is to lead people away from traditional values such as the ownership of land per se and toward values associated with a money economy, a certain pattern of responses can be predicted concerning the amount of importance attached to a regular monthly income. The grand mean for all responses on this dimension was 2.36, which indicates that it tended to be a third or fourth choice for respondents in general. Also, because of a variation in response patterns of the thirty-two subgroups, the problem of skewness was substantially less than the case in the political dimensions. In short, there was sufficient variation to make the analysis of variance meaningful.

Results on the whole were consistent with the general trend of earlier analyses and tended to confirm the general hypothesis advanced in Chapter II. Big people placed more importance on the dimension as did transitionals as opposed to traditional residents. That is, the impacts of social status and social change were similar in kind; both forces caused people to attach greater importance to the monthly income dimension. Consistent with previous findings, the impact of social change was approximately a third that of socio-economic status. These two forces also interacted in a now familiar way: with greater amounts of social change experienced, the discrepancy became greater in importance attributed to the income dimension by big and little people.

While the impact of social change and social status upon perceived importance of the income dimension was as expected, the community-type effect was not. Rice growing communities attached the highest weight followed by coconut, fishing, and sugar communities. Therefore, the rice growing communities, which have generally reacted in a more traditional fashion on other value dimensions, acted in a transitional fashion on the monthly income dimension. One gets the idea that almost any economic issue is perceived as vital in these communities. To confuse matters a bit more, the community-type effect was also significant in its interaction with the social change and socio-economic status variables. The interaction with social change was the result of coconut and fishing villages showing no discernible impact of change while the rice and sugar communities did. The interaction with socio-economic status was caused by variations in the size of the mean difference in importance scores assigned by the three mainland communities and a slight reverse of this pattern in the fishing communities. There appears to be no easy consistent interpretation of these interactions.

Importance of Education and Occupational Status

As stated previously, most respondents placed a great deal of importance upon education. It was frequently mentioned as a first choice. This being the case, it is not particularly surprising that there were only two significant F ratios, one of which was the ubiquitous socio-economic status effect: big people placed greater importance upon education than did little people. What was more interesting was the social-change-by-social-status interaction. It was caused by the fact that the difference in response for big and little people occurred almost completely in the transitional communities. There was no difference in the traditional communities.

The occupational status dimension was also viewed as a matter of some importance. The grand mean was 3.59, which was close to that of education. Surprisingly, neither socio-economic status nor social change had any significant impact upon the perceived importance of the occupational status dimension. Only the community-type effect acting alone or in combination with the other two variables yielded significant F ratios. What occurred was that the fishing communities attached the greatest importance to this dimension followed closely by the sugar communities. After a substantial gap came the coconut and rice communities

in that order. The significant interaction with social change was caused by big people in rice communities attaching greater importance to this dimension than the little people. The other three types of communities showed no such effect. The significant social-change-by-community-type interaction was caused by a combination of two things operating in conjunction with no discernible impact of change in the coconut and sugar communities: in the rice communities transitionals placed much more weight on this dimension than traditionals; the opposite was true in the fishing communities.

Summary and Conclusions

Each of the analyses reviewed in this chapter serves as a summary of responses to a particular issue. In this section, the focus is placed upon drawing some cross-dimensional conclusions instead of repeating the same material. Those are listed as a set of specific points. In general, they are consistent with the findings reviewed in Chapter II. The general hypothesis offered in that chapter has gathered additional support. At the same time, the need to study community-type effects in more detail has been amply demonstrated.

When results of all seven analyses of variance concerning the present status of the respondents studied were reviewed, the following conclusions were drawn.

(1) When it comes to what one has now, the impact of socio-economic status is enormous. Big people had more of everything than little people. Further, as social change occurred, the difference in the level of ownership between big and little people increased substantially. Finally, when certain types of communities were more prosperous than others with respect to certain dimensions, the size of the discrepancy in holdings between big and little people increased. Perhaps the easiest way to summarize this effect is that "he who has, gets." -- a friend which may or may not agree with the goals of a planned change program.

(2) Social change has had a discernible impact as well -- between ten and twenty percent as great as that of socio-economic status. Transitional people had more consumer goods, a higher monthly income, and a higher level of education than was the case for the traditional people. In only one instance did traditional people have more: they had a higher level of political connections than transitional little people. This trend did not hold for big people in the two social change groups.

(3) Rice communities held the highest average amount of land and the lowest average level of consumer goods. They were second lowest in mean educational level and tied for last in general occupational level. They were first in level of political connections possessed. This entire pattern of responses would indicate that the rice communities were more traditional than the other three types of communities.

(4) Coconut and sugar communities by comparison appeared to be less traditional. They owned less land, and had more consumer goods, and a higher mean educational level.

(5) Fishing communities appeared to be more difficult to summarize. They were second highest on average land ownership, second lowest on ownership of consumer goods, and the lowest on general educational level. This would tend to put them in a category between the rice communities on one hand and the sugar and coconut communities on the other. One inconsistency with this pattern of behavior is their very low level of political contacts.

(6) Social change would appear to have considerable impact upon average level of education received. This was especially dramatic in the fishing communities. It appears as though the general impact of social change is to provide most people with a higher platform on the general social ladder and more varied opportunities. From that point, however, the race invariably goes to those with more experience, i. e., those of higher socio-economic status. Thus, while there is a general improvement in present status with change, the position of big people is enhanced more. It is obvious that social change does not produce a classless society. Indeed, the more traditional the area, the less the difference between classes.

Results of the analyses of the importance attached to various dimensions are summarized below. Except for the nature of the community effect these were largely consistent with previously reviewed results.

(7) Those dimensions which were seen as being of greatest importance to people in general were those of education and occupational or professional status. The next most important grouping was between importance attached to land and a monthly income. Trailing far behind were the consumer goods and both political dimensions.

(8) Big people seemed to be leading the way in adopting values associated with a more modern economy. They attached less importance to land ownership per se than did little people. Also they valued education and a regular monthly income more highly. Further, when they experienced social change, this change in value orientation became accelerated. By contrast the values of little people showed a much slower, and sometimes no, drift from the traditional orientation.

(9) Social change does yield a discernible impact on individual values away from such traditional beliefs in the value of such things as land per se and toward such things as education, desire for consumer goods, and more importance attached to a regular monthly income. Its impact is similar in kind to that of socio-economic status but smaller in degree, roughly twenty to twenty-five percent as great as that of socio-economic status.

(10) There appeared to be a strong economic orientation in the rice communities, which concentrated on ways of accumulating earning power as opposed to ways of using it. Such findings indicate considerable concern with the business of survival.

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CHANGE AND PSYCHOLOGICAL UNREST

The first report in this series presented a number of arguments in favor of introducing quantifiable indices of various social forces. The reason was basically that such a procedure would (a) serve to diminish ambiguity and (b) increase chances of generalizing results to new social situations. Consistent with this orientation, a measurable index of psychological unrest was proposed in Chapter II of the first report. It was based upon the discrepancy between what one aspires to have and what he actually has. In psychological terminology, it is the difference between one's present status (s) and his level of aspiration (a).

Such a conceptualization of unrest is one of an internalized force for change directed toward something. In our case, the "thing" to which the force is directed was defined as a specific value dimension which is basically quantifiable, such as a desire for various amounts of land. Given that there are n dimensions under scrutiny, it is reasonable to presume that their subjective importance to the individual will vary. Therefore, an additional weighting factor (w) needs to be taken into account.

The last set of data reviewed in Chapter III dealt with dimensional value ratings (ws). Earlier data in the chapter dealt with measures of present status (ss). Data in Chapter II provided level of aspiration indices (as). All three measures dealt with the same groups of people and the same set of seven dimensions. Therefore, for all groups of people (which were selected to represent various levels and combinations of social forces at work) one can compute a psychological unrest score for each dimension as follows:

$$u_i = w_i (a_i - s_i)$$

where u_i is the unrest associated with the i th dimension,

w_i is the subjective importance attached to that dimension,

a_i is the level of aspiration on that dimension, and

s_i is the present status on that dimension.

Obviously, such an index could be computed on an individual or group basis. In the former case, the individual scores could be averaged over a group. For

our purposes, however, group averages were used throughout to permit a rough check on the predictive power of the basic unrest index. Also, no consistent attempts were made to compute a total unrest score. When combined scores were needed, they were computed by taking the geometric mean of the individual unrest indices as follows.*

$$u_{i, \dots} = \sqrt{(u_1)^2 + (u_2)^2 + \dots + (u_n)^2} \quad [2]$$

The cause of this somewhat slipshod theorizing was that the goal of this chapter was not to present an axiomatic development of a psychological unrest model. The reasons for taking this position are three in number. First, it is felt to be premature to go too far into a refined development at our present stage of knowledge and noticeable lack of appropriate empirical data by which preliminary tests of the model can be performed. Second, it is not at all easy to determine how the basic features of the model can be tested in practice using data from field studies. For example, what is an appropriate empirical correlate of the index? Third, the seven value dimensions studied here were determined by fiat and not by careful empirical examination. While it is true that these seven dimensions have been shown to be of importance in past research using open-ended questions and participant observer techniques, it is not at all certain that they comprise a sufficient range of values to withstand the onslaughts of numerous uncontrollable factors and still relate to everyday behavior.

This last point is of particular concern because a review of the dimensions studied shows rather clearly that they are heavily concentrated in the economic area. Yet, what appears to be the case is that the impact of social change (to which unrest is related but certainly not equivalent) is twofold: on one hand the economic well-being of the populous is likely to be improved; at the same time, social discomfort is likely to arise because the traditional modes of reducing social tensions are not likely to work in the transitional environment. Until new methods of reconciling tensions are devised and means of removing guilt associated with breaking or ignoring traditional rules of conduct are produced, the individual is likely to view the change process as a mixed blessing.

* This technique would appear to have advantages over a linear combination equation which assumes that the dimensions are independent. Of course, after performing a factor analysis a linear model could easily be used by using factor loadings to weight dimensions.

With this tempered enthusiasm in mind the following hypothesis was tested: the greater the size of the psychological unrest index, the greater the amount of economic pessimism. The converse was also felt to be true. Therefore, work began with a determination of which type of communities had the higher unrest indices.

Psychological Unrest Indices

Psychological unrest indices were computed by use of equation 1 to determine the relative unrest of traditional vs. transitional people, big vs. little people, and the four different types of communities. Results are presented in Tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3. Data pertaining to the two political dimensions were excluded because the issue is sufficiently complex, subtle, and sensitive to merit separate treatment in a later report.

The computations showed a number of things, some of which were not obvious. For example, it is well known that prior success is followed by a raised level of aspiration (and usually heightened optimism). Therefore, it was not at all certain whether or not the generally higher prosperity of transitional people, as indicated in the Chapter III analysis of present status data, would have raised aspirations sufficiently to yield a higher psychological unrest level than was the case for traditional people. Also, as was indicated in Chapter I, change introduces considerable stress of a social sort; e.g., emotionally embedded traditional beliefs are forced to change. Finally, one would expect that exposure to more mass communications presentations and more immediate contact with prosperity would tend to drive the level of aspiration higher. All of these points would indicate that transitional people may well have greater psychological unrest than traditionals. The data in Table 4.1, however, show clearly that the unrest indices of traditional people were substantially larger than those of transitional people. Other conclusions drawn from a review of the Table are presented below.

For both traditional and transitional people the two highest psychological unrest figures were associated with the ownership of land followed by the desire for educating one's children. These data seem consistent with the proven almost universal appeals of land reform and mass education programs. Unfortunately, for any country seriously attempting to accelerate development, both types of programs are beset with problems. For example, simple land subdivision can

retard development because it yields numerous low producing small farmers who don't have the capital to increase production through the use of irrigation systems, fertilizers and insecticides, and machinery. Education programs can easily produce graduates who forsake the rural areas and flock to the more urbane capital city. Therefore, the course of any government which must meet the perceived needs of the people in order to stay in power and at the same time exert a concerted effort to maximize economic growth is almost certainly going to be stormy.

Another thing shown by the data is the relative importance placed upon basic economic security in the Philippines. The mean aspiration with respect to occupation is for anything that yields a regular, steady monthly income. In practice, this is not the case. Farmers are busy only part of the year. The rest of the time they take such work as they can find. Often, respondents would list a secondary occupation such as being an "estanyol"--which is Tagalog for a standby worker on call if anything turns up. Obviously, such an occupation does not produce a steady income. What it does produce, however, is confusion in coding one's present status. To many Filipinos employment is an either-or affair. The concept of underemployment or partial employment is not common. Therefore, the size of the mean present status score is probably inflated. The net result is that in all three tables the discrepancy between what one wants and what one has is either small or even reversed in sign (one has more than he wants). This figure is probably the result of both factors enumerated above: the tendency to focus upon security, and coding errors caused by the respondent's lack of a concept of underemployment. The writers hesitate to assume that there is little or no psychological unrest associated with the occupational status dimension -- although as the next chapter will show, farmers enjoy farming, and fishermen enjoy fishing to a surprising degree.

Table 4.2 shows clearly that the psychological unrest of the little people was substantially greater than that of the big people. For the little people the pattern was as follows: unrest associated with land ownership was first followed by a desire to educate one's children. A desire for a higher monthly income came next followed by consumer goods and a heightened occupational status. For the big people, land seemed to be the major item with other unrest figures being less than a fourth as great. On all dimensions, little people showed more psychological unrest than big people.

TABLE 4.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL UNREST INDICES ASSOCIATED WITH SOCIAL CHANGE

		ASPIRATION	ATTAINMENT	DISCREPANCY	WEIGHT	UNREST INDEX
LAND	TRADITIONALS	3.80	2.08	-1.72	3.19	5.49
	TRANSITIONALS	3.84	1.98	-1.66	2.98	4.95
CONSUMER GOODS	TRAD.	3.43	2.24	-1.19	1.27	1.51
	TRANS.	3.62	3.07	-0.55	1.42	.78
MONTHLY INCOME	TRAD.	4.16	3.52	-.64	2.27	1.45
	TRANS.	4.38	4.05	-.35	2.44	.85
EDUCATION	TRAD.	3.81	2.74	-1.07	3.91	4.18
	TRANS.	4.02	3.43	-.59	3.86	2.28
OCCUPATIONAL	TRAD.	3.02	3.20	+.08	3.60	
	TRANS.	3.19	3.32	+.14	3.58	

TABLE 4.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL UNREST INDICES FOR SOCIAL STATUS DATA

		ASPIRATIONS	ATTAINMENT	DISCREPANCY	WEIGHT	UNREST INDEX
LAND	BIG	4.09	2.78	-1.23	2.70	3.32
	LITTLE	3.35	1.29	-2.06	3.48	7.17
CONSUMER GOODS	BIG	3.93	3.45	-.48	1.44	.89
	LITTLE	3.12	1.88	-1.28	1.26	1.59
MONTHLY INCOME	BIG	4.85	4.61	-.04	2.53	.10
	LITTLE	3.89	2.98	-.93	2.18	2.03
EDUCATION	BIG	4.08	3.96	-.12	3.98	.48
	LITTLE	3.75	2.22	-1.43	3.78	5.41
OCCUPATIONAL	BIG	3.46	3.82	+.36	3.65	
	LITTLE	2.74	2.70	-.04	3.52	.14

Table 4.3, when contrasted with Tables 4.1 and 4.2, gives some indication of difficulties associated with interpreting the community-type effect. A good deal of the problem stems from inherent differences in fishing and farming communities. As far as farming communities go, the rice villages had the highest general psychological unrest. The only dimension which reversed this trend was on the monthly income, or money, dimension. As has been the case in most analyses, sugar and coconut communities showed fairly similar general unrest scores. The fishing communities showed a remarkably different pattern with a strong focus on education followed by unrest associated with land ownership.

Psychological Unrest and Economic Optimism

Having established that a psychological unrest index had some face validity, could be readily computed, and that it showed a consistent relationship to the social forces under study, the next problem was to test its power to predict attitudinal orientations in some way. This was done by analyzing responses to questions logically related to economic optimism, something which should correlate negatively with psychological unrest. A series of questions were asked to ascertain one's general economic optimism. The individual question had an average interitem correlation of + .671. This figure showed that responses were consistent to the set of questions and indicated that it was reasonable to think in terms of a general economic optimism continuum. When all analyses of variance were reviewed, the hypothesis received some support, but at the same time some interesting exceptions were noted.

One of the analyses concerned answers to a straightforward question regarding the respondent's perception concerning job opportunities in the area. The subject could select one of a series of responses: none, a few, some, or many. Results showed a statistically significant F ratio associated with social class ($F=12.24$ for $1/16$ df, $P<.005$), a borderline but not significant effect for social change ($.05<P<.10$), and a sizable and significant community-type effect ($F = 47.49$, $P<.005$). Also, all interactions were significant with the exception of the social-class-by-social-change interaction which was borderline ($.05<P<.10$). The direction of the difference in the case of the nonsignificant social change variable was as expected; i.e., transitionals were more optimistic about job opportunities than traditionals. The same held true with regard to the significant community-type effect. Rice communities were substantially lower than

TABLE 4.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL UNREST DATA FOR VARIOUS TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

		ASPIRATION	PRESENT STATUS	DISCREPANCY	WEIGHT	UNREST INDEX
LAND	SUGAR	3.64	1.48	-2.16	2.41	5.21
	COCONUTS	3.64	1.88	-1.76	2.98	5.24
	RICE	4.41	2.53	-1.88	3.56	6.69
	FISHING	3.20	2.22	- .98	3.40	3.33
CONSUMER GOODS	SUGAR	3.60	2.89	- .71	1.56	1.11
	COCONUTS	3.70	2.92	- .78	1.31	1.02
	RICE	4.11	2.30	-1.81	1.29	2.34
	FISHING	2.69	2.50	- .19	1.24	.24
MONTHLY INCOME	SUGAR	4.27	3.66	- .51	2.70	1.38
	COCONUTS	4.32	3.84	- .48	2.36	1.13
	RICE	4.26	3.92	- .34	2.19	.74
	FISHING	4.22	3.71	- .49	2.18	1.07
EDUCATION	SUGAR	3.96	3.71	- .15	3.95	.59
	COCONUTS	4.02	3.35	- .87	3.94	3.43
	RICE	4.02	3.01	-1.01	3.95	3.99
	FISHING	3.66	2.28	-1.38	3.69	5.09
OCCUPATIONAL	SUGAR	3.07	3.14	+ .07	3.84	
	COCONUTS	3.18	3.51	+ .33	3.35	
	RICE	3.39	3.14	- .15	3.21	48
	FISHING	2.78	3.26	+ .48	3.96	

anyone else in economic optimism. The surprise, however, was that little people were more optimistic than big people. Whether this reflects greater realism on the part of the big people or the fact that relative judgments were gathered without regard to the widely different vantage points of the respondents is not clear.

Possible explanations for the two unexpected findings given above appeared when the nature of the interactions were examined. First, the reason that there was no significant social change effect was a familiar one. In all three types of agricultural villages, and especially in the rice communities, transitionals were more optimistic than traditionals. In the fishing communities the exact opposite was true. The statistically significant social class effect occurred in two villages: mostly in the coconut communities and somewhat in the fishing communities. The other two communities showed little impact of social status. Since the response pattern was not consistent across communities, answers to other questions needed to be studied in some detail.

One item concerned the respondent's perceptions concerning opportunities to raise one's position in the community. In this analysis two significant main effects were noted: social change ($F = 17.32, P < .005$) and community type ($F = 43.04, P < .005$). None of the interactions were significant although two were borderline cases: one was the triple interaction and the other the community-type-by-social-change interaction. Because of the potential importance of the latter interaction to the hypothesis under investigation, it was examined even though it fell short of statistical significance.

The significant social change effect was exactly as predicted. Transitional people perceived more opportunity to rise than traditional people. The significant community effect was mainly due to the low optimism scores in the fishing villages and the high ones in the sugar communities. The rice and coconut communities fell in between, with the rice communities being in second place. The near significant community-type-by-social-change interaction was caused by the magnitude of the difference between groups changing from community to community. In all cases the difference was discernible and in the predicted manner. Thus, insofar as the impact of social change is concerned, data from this second analysis provided clear support for the hypothesis under test. As for the other two factors, however, there was no such support. At the same time, there was no clear refutation of the hypothesis either -- which precipitated further analyses.

TABLE 4.4 RESULTS OF ANALYSES OF RESPONSES TO A QUESTION REGARDING PERCEIVED OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE (* INDICATES $P < .05$)			
SOURCE	DF	MEAN SQUARES	F
SOCIAL STATUS (A)	1	86.12	11.38*
SOCIAL CHANGE (B)	1	32.00	5.51
COMMUNITY TYPE (C)	3	183.78	31.63*
A X B	1	12.00	2.15
A X C	3	19.12	3.29*
B X C	3	228.33	39.30*
A X B X C	3	12.50	2.15
ERROR	16	5.81	

Results similar to those reviewed above were obtained in an analysis of responses to the questions concerning the opportunity for someone to use an education in the town. Social change accounted for more than half of the total variance ($F = 110.72$, $P < .005$). No other significant main effects were noted; i.e., social status and community types were not only nonsignificant but extremely small as well. Again, the direction of the significant social change effects were as predicted: Transitional residents were more optimistic than traditional residents. The only other interaction that was significant was the social-change-by-community-type interaction. This was caused by having the fishing communities show no impact of social change, while all agricultural communities showed a clear trend.

The final analysis to be summarized here concerns responses to a question where subjects rated the chances for advancement of young people in each of the eight towns. Results are shown in Table 4.4. All three effects were significant when considered alone and were also significant in most cases when appearing in combination with each other. As predicted, transitional people were more optimistic than traditional people. Also, consistent with expectations, rice communities were the least optimistic. Again, however, little people were more optimistic than big people.

The nature of the social change effect was not straightforward, as can be seen from the size of the social-change-by-community-type interaction. In coconut and rice communities the trend was clearly one of the transitionals being more optimistic than the traditionals. In the fishing communities the reverse was true and just as strong. The sugar communities showed the same

trend as the fishing communities but not nearly so strongly. The significant community-type-by-social-status interaction was that the sugar communities showed no effects of social status, the coconut communities showed a strong effect, the rice communities showed none, and the fishing communities were similar to the sugar communities but not nearly as strong in the trend.

In summary, the tie between psychological unrest and economic optimism is not a simple one. It does appear reasonable to follow the chain of reasoning that social change reduces psychological unrest in economic matters. However, this reasoning must be tempered by the fact that the association can be altered drastically by the type of community in which one resides. With this reservation in mind, the generalization appears valid -- at least provisionally. The relationship between the unrest index and economic optimism was not nearly so clear when applied to the case of community types although there was some support for the notion. When the index of psychological unrest was applied to the social status dimension, however, expectations were not confirmed. Possibly, this was a result of comparing two sets of responses both of which were relative for widely different perspectives. Obviously the problem of what constitutes optimism, contentment, and satisfaction is a complex matter. For that reason, such matters are discussed more completely in the next chapter.

Perceptions of Rate of Economic Change

This chapter began with the contention that an index of psychological unrest could be computed by combining data discussed in Chapters II and III. It was hypothesized that this index would be related to pessimism in particular groups. Because of the nature of the dimensions investigated, it was hypothesized that the derived psychological unrest indices would apply largely in the economic as opposed to the social realm. Therefore, the lower the degree of psychological unrest, the higher the economic optimism. When unrest indices were computed, it was found that transitional residents had much lower ones than traditional residents. Also, transitional people responded more optimistically than traditional residents when queried about opportunities to raise one's station in life, opportunities in the community, etc. While results were not as clear-cut as one would wish, data reviewed so far are consistent with the notion of a dual-edged impact of social change advanced at the beginning of the chapter -- at least in the economic realm.

In this section concern is centered about perceptions regarding recent changes of an economic nature. Data analyzed were responses to the following three questions. Response codes and their equivalent numbers are given after each question.

What do you think about making a living in this Poblacion?
Is it more difficult or less difficult than ten years ago, or the same?
a. more difficult (1), b. the same (2), or c. less difficult (3).

Do you think people now have more money than, less money than, or the same amount as ten years ago? a. more (1),
b. the same (2), or c. less (3).

Do you think that the number of people who are badly in debt now are more than, the same as, or less than ten years ago?
a. more (1), b. the same (2), or c. less (3).

Scoring was accomplished by assuming that economic optimism and pessimism were opposite ends of the same dimension and that generalized economic pessimism existed. The plausibility of this latter assumption was checked by computing the interitem correlation between responses to the three questions given above. The result was + .615 which indicates that respondents reacted in a fairly consistent manner to all three questions -- as was the case in regarding the questions concerning economic optimism reviewed in the previous section. This finding indicated that a generalized characteristic was being measured. What was more interesting, however, was the correlation between the two blocks of items (perception of recent progress vs. general economic optimism) which was + .116. This indicated that perceptions regarding recent changes in economic opportunity were only slightly related to perceptions regarding economic opportunity in general.

There can be many explanations for the above finding. One is that traditionals may perceive recent changes more favorably because it takes less of a change in their environment to be noticeable. Also, within the past decade, the Philippine government has pursued an active rural development program. Agencies most immediately concerned with the implementation of this plan are three in number: first, the Presidential Assistant for Community Development (PACD), which sends hundreds of college graduates into rural areas to assist development; second, the privately sponsored Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), which sends a smaller number of similar people into central Luzon -- the center of Huk activity in the late forties and early fifties; and,

third, agricultural assistance people from the College of Agriculture of the University of the Philippines (UP) backed up by research personnel from the private U. S. foundation funded (Rockefeller-Ford) International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), located at Los Baños. Although policies and practices of the different groups vary, there is no doubt about the basic dedication and competence of staff of all three groups. Further, unlike the situation in many developing countries, many well-educated Filipinos are not afraid to get their hands dirty doing the messy work associated with rural assistance.

The three groups enumerated above are helped by other workers as well. A fourth group which works diligently in this area is the Catholic Church. Local priests do not restrict their activities to looking after the spiritual life of their congregation. They actively immerse themselves in community development projects of the self-help type. Also, local schoolteachers are becoming more involved in the problem. In summary, while there is much to be done in the area of rural development, Filipinos are not standing by idly waiting for the problem to go away or looking toward massive assistance from the U. S. In fact, compared with U. S. aid elsewhere in the world, the Philippines get precious little from the U. S. in the way of support.

Efforts of groups such as those enumerated above, and others not specifically mentioned here, should have greater impact upon traditional people than those in transition. Further, when this effect is combined with the one discussed in the next chapter (where it takes less change in traditional areas to induce a perception of progress) one would expect a pattern of responses different from the ones reviewed in the previous section concerned with general economic optimism. That is, while psychological unrest should have a clear impact on general economic optimism, numerous factors tend to make its impact upon the rate of perceived economic change more difficult to discern.

Analysis of responses to the question about the change in relative difficulty in making a living in the 1956-1966 time frame showed two significant F ratios: one associated with social change and the other with community types. What

was especially important was a general mean of 2.12 which indicated that respondents in general perceived little (slightly positive) change in the last ten years. The nature of the two significant effects was that traditiona^l residents perceived more favorable recent change than did transitional and residents of rice communities held more favorable impressions than those held in the coconut and fishing communities. Residents of sugar communities responded in a fashion similar to that of rice community respondents. Evidently, in this one case, the more traditional the person, the greater the tendency to perceive favorable economic progress in the past decade.

The second analysis regarded perceptions of increased income in the past ten years. Only one F ratio was significant, the one associated with social status. Big people had a more favorable impression than little people -- a finding not entirely consistent with the conclusion drawn above. Also, the general mean was 2.32, which indicates a fairly optimistic perception on the average.

Results of the final analysis dealt with answers to questions concerned perceptions of changes in indebtedness. The general mean was 1.64, which shows a tendency to view the picture as no better and somewhat worse than it had been. Transitional people were found to be more pessimistic than traditionals in this respect. They tended to view the situation as being worse than before while traditionals saw it as roughly unchanged. The significant social-change-by-social-status interaction was especially interesting. In traditional communities big and little people saw comparatively little changes in indebtedness with the little people, (more often than big people), tending to see things as being worse. In transitional communities the opposite was true: big people were especially pessimistic regarding indebtedness, significantly more than the little people. This response probably indicates the financial stress they felt when attempting to start business with small capital reserves. (This point is discussed more fully in Chapter VI.)

The significant community-type effect was caused by the fishing villages being much more pessimistic than the three agricultural communities which were tightly grouped. The significant community-type-by-social-change interaction was caused by two factors. First, fishing village residents slightly reversed a trend shown in the three agricultural communities; i. e., transitionals were less pessimistic than traditionals in that one case. The second cause was

that differences associated with social status were moderate in rice and coconut villages and substantial in the two sugar communities. In all three cases, however, the trend was the same.

Summarizing results of those three analyses is not especially easy. First, we appear to have once more documented the point that one's perceptions are a complex affair. In general, residents saw a slightly improved recent change with regard to economic opportunity and ways of making money. At the same time, however, social change was shown to have a complex effect upon perceptions. Evidently, it is easier to have favorable impact upon people living in a traditional way. When people experience change and have more, it takes more improvement to be noticeable. Also, the big people in transitional communities were obviously feeling the need for capital with which to start business or to invest in some other way. In addition, perceptions seemed to vary depending upon which communities are studied; i. e., the impact of change does not appear to be uniform throughout the country. What is discernible, however, is some tendency toward the type of effect discussed at length in Chapter I. Namely, the rate of change in expectations may be exceeding the capacity of the system to meet them. The result is an unfavorable perception in transitional people (especially those of higher social status) concerning the rate at which things are being changed or improved. This negative perception, however, is coupled with the knowledge that they are better off economically than their traditional counterparts and that they do have the opportunity to improve their lot if they work sufficiently hard and have some good luck.

Psychological Unrest and Contentment

A review of open-ended responses to questions aimed at identifying factors basic to contentment (see Chapter V) showed that economic and social factors were perceived as being most important followed by civic, recreational, and educational opportunities. In the case of economic matters, the impact of social change is clearly positive; therefore, it should make people more content. On the other hand, change is likely to have a negative impact in the social realm because it strains the extended family relationship and many other values learned early in life. The result is more likely to produce anxiety rather than contentment. Thus, with regard to the two most important bases of contentment one effect might tend to cancel the other, that is, if they are equally weighted.

The contention of the theory discussed in Chapter II of the first report in this series, however, is that economic factors exerted the stronger force. Therefore, contentment should be higher in transitional areas. Added to this effect is the fact that educational and recreational facilities in transitional towns are more numerous and sophisticated than those in traditional towns. The sum of these two forces should be sufficient to at least partially counterbalance the negative social component. Thus, one is led to the conclusion that the greater the psychological unrest, the greater the amount of expressed discontentment; for, as has been shown previously, social change tends to reduce psychological unrest. However, it should be noted that the path leading to this conclusion is not a simple one. It requires adding and subtracting components to arrive at a prediction. This prediction was tested by evaluating responses to the following question:

Compared with people in other towns, are people here more contented (scored as 1), less contented (scored as 3) or the same (scored as 2)?

Table 4.5 shows data relevant to this hypothesis. Each of the three major social forces had a statistically significant influence on the degree of expressed contentment. Further, social change had a statistically significant interaction with both social status and the community-type variable. Finally, the grand mean was 1.51 which meant that people in general did not picture their town as a place of discontentment. Rather, they perceived local residents as being either as content as or more content than people in other towns.

TABLE 4.5 RESULTS OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON EXPRESSED CONTENTMENT DATA (* INDICATES $P < .05$)			
SOURCE	DF	MEAN SQUARES	F
SOCIAL STATUS (A)	1	15.12	6.722*
SOCIAL CHANGE (B)	1	40.50	18.000*
COMMUNITY TYPE	3	48.21	21.425*
A X B	1	18.00	8.000*
A X C	3	6.38	2.831
B X C	3	34.08	15.148*
A X B X C	3	0.08	1<
ERROR	16	2.25	

The nature of the three main effects can be summarized by saying that the greater the amount of psychological unrest, the less the expressed contentment. Big people were more content than little people. Transitional people were more content than traditional people. Also, residents of rice communities showed the least amount of contentment. The significant social change by social status was somewhat interesting. Basically, the difference in expressed contentment between big and little people was twice as great in traditional communities as in transitional communities. The nature of the community-type-by-social-change interaction was that while the agricultural communities all showed the same impact of change, which was especially pronounced in the rice communities, the fishing communities showed no impact of change. In summary, as far as this one analysis goes, the psychological unrest index was a powerful predictor of response patterns.

Fatalism and Self-Sufficiency

A key element of traditional societies is the belief in fatalism, one aspect of which is that man is not self-sufficient and has little control over his destiny. Therefore, one would expect that the greater the traditionalism, the lower the perceived self-sufficiency. In order to examine the impact of social change upon fatalism, respondents were asked how much they felt they could do to achieve their aspirations regarding ownership of land and consumer goods, obtaining a higher monthly income, education for their children and occupational status, having more political contacts, and holding political office. Thus, the series of questions was aimed at tapping the respondent's picture of how much control he perceived he had over his destiny. The basic question, the response options, and the numerical codes are given below. The same question was repeated for all seven dimensions.

- Can you yourself do anything to own more land?
a. nothing (1), b. a little (2), c. some (3), d. much (4)

Results of the seven analyses were clear-cut and highly consistent. A general summary of results yielded a clear pattern. Social status had a significant impact on all dimensions as was the case for community-type effects as well. Social change had a statistically significant impact in only two cases: expressed self-sufficiency regarding occupational status and maintaining political contacts. In all except one case, which concerned expressed self-sufficiency

regarding what one could do to acquire more consumer goods, a significant social-class-by-community-type interaction occurred. In no case was there a significant social-change-by-community-type interaction, nor were there any significant triple interactions.

The pattern of responses summarized above indicates that respondents acted in a consistent fashion to the question across all seven dimensions. This fact can be interpreted as providing evidence supporting the belief that a generalized self-sufficiency dimension exists. Additional evidence came from a review of the average interitem correlation between dimensions computed for all individuals in the sample. The result was + .901, which shows a very high degree of uniformity in responses for individuals no matter what dimension was being considered.

The nature of the impact of social status was predictable; the higher the social status, the higher the expressed self-sufficiency. This effect was the same across all seven dimensions. In the two cases where social change was shown to have significant impact, transitional respondents had a higher degree of expressed self-sufficiency than did traditional people. The nature of the significant community-type impact on expressed self-sufficiency was exactly the same across all seven dimensions as is illustrated by Table 4.6. Sugar and rice communities had a higher degree of expressed self-sufficiency than fishing and coconut communities. The grand means for the seven dimensions were generally around three, which indicates a "some" as opposed to a "little" or "much" degree of expressed self-sufficiency. Overall means for the seven dimensions were as follows: land -- 2.79; consumer goods -- 3.14; monthly income -- 3.17; education -- 3.35; occupational status -- 3.00; political contacts -- 2.85; and political office -- 2.84. These scores indicate a fairly high degree of expressed self-sufficiency for the entire sample of respondents.

There also appears to be a clear relationship between perceived self-sufficiency and psychological unrest. The general nature of the relationship is the higher the psychological unrest, the lower the perceived self-sufficiency. There were some slight deviations from this pattern, however, because social change did not have a significant impact in all cases. Also, in the case of community effects some changes in the general pattern appeared.

TABLE 4.6 TABLE OF MEANS SHOWING THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY-TYPE EFFECT. GENERALLY, SUGAR AND RICE COMMUNITY RESIDENTS FELT THEY COULD DO MORE TO ACHIEVE THEIR ASPIRATIONS THAN DID RESIDENTS OF COCONUT AND FISHING VILLAGES.

	COMMUNITY TYPES			
	SUGAR	RICE	COCONUTS	FISHING
LAND	3.262	3.250	2.450	2.875
CONSUMER GOODS	3.338	3.400	2.925	2.912
MONTHLY INCOME	3.375	3.362	2.900	3.025
EDUCATION	3.600	3.538	3.187	3.075
OCCUPATION	3.362	3.338	2.825	2.475
POLITICAL CONTACTS	3.100	3.288	2.600	2.412
POLITICAL OFFICE	3.100	3.412	2.488	2.350

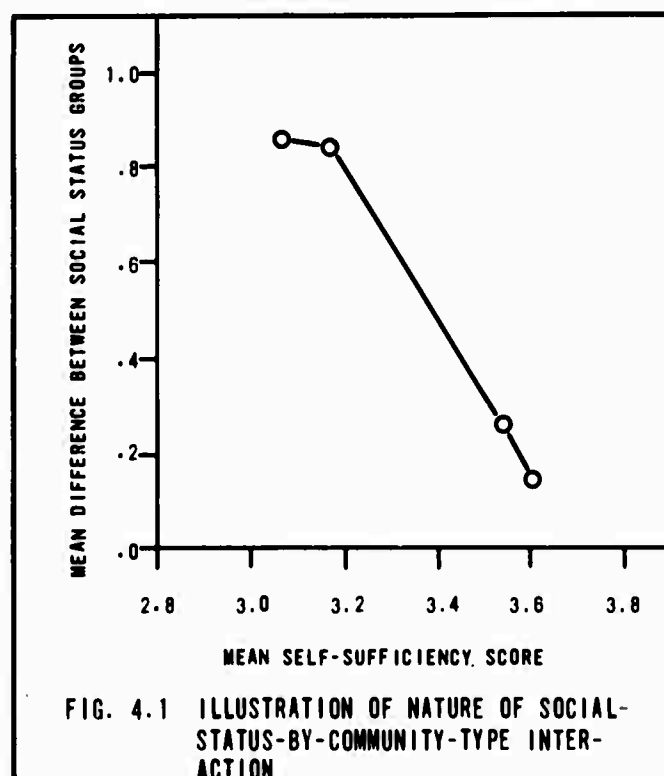
At first glance self-sufficiency would appear to be a negative correlate of psychological unrest indices. At least, this was the case for socio-economic status and the two occasions when social change had a significant impact. The community-type effect was not in accord with this trend, however. If it were, coconut and sugar community residents would have had higher perceived self-sufficiency scores than residents of rice and fishing villages. (What actually happened is that sugar and rice communities had higher self-sufficiency scores than coconut and fishing communities). Perhaps the explanation is that the very nature of the situation in which residents find themselves may be of crucial importance. For example, rice and sugar crops are planted and harvested each year. With careful use of insecticides and fertilizers, the planting of more resilient strains, raising a second crop, etc., these farmers can influence their yield considerably. Coconut trees by comparison take years to grow. What one harvests this year is determined by what was done long before now. In fishing, how well one does depends upon numerous factors beyond the fisherman's control: the weather, the presence or absence of other fishing groups, how well the fish spawned, etc. Therefore, in coconut and fishing communities rewards are not as immediate as in rice and sugar communities; also, more extraneous factors influence production in fishing and coconut communities than is the case elsewhere. Perhaps this is the reason behind the clear trend shown in all seven analyses.

The nature of the significant social-class-by-social-change interaction was the same in all cases. Data in Table 4.7 shows rather clearly that the difference in self-sufficiency scores between big and little people was much greater in

TABLE 4.7 ILLUSTRATION OF SOCIAL-CHANGE-BY-SOCIAL-STATUS INTERACTION. SCORES SHOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MEANS FOR BIG AND LITTLE PEOPLE IN BOTH TYPES OF COMMUNITIES REGARDING FEELINGS OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

	TRADITIONAL	TRANSITIONAL
LAND	.200	.525
CONSUMER GOODS	.125	.500
MONTHLY INCOME	.212	.700
EDUCATION	.262	.753
OCCUPATION	.113	.688
POLITICAL CONTACTS	.325	.750
POLITICAL OFFICE	.487	.953

transitional communities than in traditional communities. Again, the big people appeared to have changed more with social change than little people. The nature



of the social-class-by-community-type interaction is illustrated in Figure 4.1 using data from the education dimension: as the mean self-sufficiency score increased, the discrepancy between the scores of big and little people decreased. Perhaps this was simply a consequence of an artificial ceiling of four points contained in the response code. Another interpretation is that when self-sufficiency is comparatively low, big people have much more of it than little people.

Success Probability and Psychological Unrest

The size of the gap between what one has and what one aspires to have would appear to bear some relationship to one's chances of reaching stated goals. Presumably, the larger the gap, the more difficult the task of bridging it. Translating this to the individual case, if one were realistic, he would probably suspect that the larger the gap, the less his chances of bridging it. Therefore, assuming that respondents felt this way, the higher the psychological unrest index (which increases as the size of the gap between wants and present status), the lower the perceived probability of successfully reaching aspirations, i. e., how likely one feels that he is likely to satisfy his aspirations.

To test the validity of this chain of reasoning, and for other purposes as well, respondents were asked if they thought their chances of achieving their aspirations with respect to each dimension were greater or less than 50-50. Depending upon their response, they were then asked either (a) if their chances were greater or less than 25%, or (b) greater or less than 75%. A less than 25% response was coded as 1, a greater than 25% but less than 50% was coded as 2, a greater than 50% but less than 75% response was given a 3, and a greater than 75% response was assigned a score of 4. Presumably, these scores would give some indication of the respondent's feelings concerning his chances of reducing the discrepancy between what he wanted and what he had. These questions were asked of all respondents concerning their perceived chances of successfully closing the gap between desires and present achievement.

Results of the analyses are shown in summary form in Table 4.8 where F ratios of all seven tests of significance are displayed. In all cases social status was shown to have a significant impact. The same was true for the community-type effect. Social change had a significant impact in five of the seven analyses, i. e., all except the land and occupational status dimensions. Further, the effects of social change were substantial once they did occur; i. e., they were not only statistically significant but also sizable as well. In two cases social change had a greater impact than social status.

TABLE 4.8 SUMMARY OF ANALYSES OF SUBJECTIVE PROBABILITY DATA (* INDICATES P<.05)								
SOURCE	OF	LAND	CONSUMER GOODS	MONTHLY INCOME	F RATIOS		POLITICAL CONTACTS	POLITICAL OFFICE
					EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS		
SOCIAL STATUS (A)	1	50.688*	38.629*	21.251*	58.702*	28.481*	38.942*	28.761*
SOCIAL CHANGE (B)	1	3.848	32.914*	79.177*	69.602*	1.077	9.308*	10.919*
COMMUNITY TYPE (C)	3	8.271*	6.338*	174.463*	62.558*	58.676*	46.192*	93.390*
A X B	1	13.148*	10.414*	4.149	9.392*	6.351*	1.558	1.066
A X C	3	8.682*	7.868*	3.383*	6.580*	3.707*	3.647*	5.474*
B X C	3	4.828*	3.524*	51.378*	28.457*	14.306*	6.551*	19.373*
A X B X C	3	5.915*	2.491	5.405*	5.624*	3.729*	2.776	8.977*
ERROR	16							

The average interitem correlation for all subjects was + .707, which indicates that a consistent set of responses were given throughout the series of questions. While findings concerning the main effect analyses indicate a clear trend, however, the frequency and size of the interactions show that the data do not yield to straightforward interpretations. For example, in five of seven cases the triple interaction was significant. In all seven cases a significant community-type-by-social-change interaction occurred. In the case of the monthly income dimension this interaction had more impact (more variance associated with it) than social status. Further, in all seven cases, there was a significant social-status-by-community-type interaction. Finally, in four of seven cases, a significant social-status-by-social-change interaction occurred. Since the community-type effect was significant in every case, whether it appeared alone or in interaction, we will begin by discussing it.

The nature of the community-type effect is shown in Table 4.9. Results are generally consistent across all seven dimensions. Sugar communities had the highest perceived success probability in all except one case, i.e., chances of holding a political office. Coconut communities generally came in second. In all cases except for the two political dimensions, residents of rice and fishing communities had the lowest perceived chance of fulfilling their aspirations. Thus, to a large extent the expectation that the greater the size of the psychological unrest index, the lower the perceived probability of successfully reaching one's aspirations was confirmed. At least, this was true for the five dimensions where the indices were computed.

TABLE 4.9 TABLE OF MEANS SHOWING THE NATURE OF THE SIGNIFICANT COMMUNITY EFFECT UPON PERCEIVED PROBABILITY OF ATTAINING ASPERATIONS. GRAND MEANS FOR EACH ANALYSIS ARE ALSO PROVIDED.

DIMENSIONS	COMMUNITY TYPE				GRAND MEAN
	SUGAR	COCONUTS	RICE	FISHING	
LAND	2.88	2.82	2.02	2.31	2.41
CONSUMER GOODS	2.54	1.99	2.04	2.01	2.14
MONTHLY INCOME	2.79	1.39	1.19	1.20	1.64
EDUCATION	2.81	1.79	1.28	1.52	1.80
OCCUPATION	2.74	2.08	1.59	1.25	1.91
POLITICAL CONTACTS	2.89	2.20	1.30	2.46	2.11
POLITICAL OFFICE	2.85	3.45	2.26	3.41	2.94

A second thing shown in Table 4.9 is that a substantial amount of optimism was shown by the respondents. In four cases, respondents indicated that their chances of reaching their goals were greater than 50-50. In descending order, the dimensions were political office (2.94), land (2.41), consumer goods (2.14), and political contacts (2.11). Translating these values into rough percentage estimates, it would appear that respondents felt that their chances of reaching their aspirations regarding political office were almost three out of four (73%). Chances of achieving desires for land were roughly six out of ten (59%). Perceived chances of reaching aspirations for consumer goods and political contacts were both just slightly above 50-50 (53%). It should also be noted, however,, that in the whole, aspirations concerning holding political office were very low. What appears to be of greater significance is the optimism associated with land ownership and the possession of consumer goods. It will not be an easy task for the government to meet these aspirations of the people in these areas, aspirations which they feel they have a good chance of getting.

The lowest perceived chances of success were associated with monthly income (a grand mean of 1.64 which is roughly equivalent to 40%). Near 50-50 splits were perceived in the case of providing the desired level of education for one's children (a mean of 1.80, which is roughly 45%), and obtaining a desired occupational status (1.91 and 48%, respectively). The authors cannot avoid commenting that these perceptions do not appear reasonable in view of the amount of improvement needed in education. For example, insuring that every child goes through college appears to be a difficult test of any social development program -- even in the prosperous U. S. A.

The nature of the social status effect was not in accordance with expectations. In all seven cases little people had a higher degree of perceived success probability than big people. The nature of the social change effect was similar in nature. In four out of the five cases where significant differences were noted, traditional people had significantly higher success probability scores than transitional people. (In the case of the political office dimension the opposite was true). Further, the significant social-status-by-social-change interaction was that in transitional villages big people tended to be much more conservative in their estimates than little people while in traditional areas both groups were more similar in having an optimistic outlook.

The nature of the social-change-by-community-type interaction was largely one where although the trend remained the same, (little people being more optimistic than big people), the size of it varied. Further, across dimensions, the particular type of community where the trend was shown most or least strongly varied. Therefore, this particular interaction would appear to be of little practical consequence. In the case of the significant, and often sizable, social-change-by-community-type interaction, however, things were different. As Table 4.10 shows, the sugar communities were the main cause of the finding that traditional people were much more optimistic than transitional people. One explanation of this finding is that some idiosyncratic effect peculiar to the sugar communities caused this effect; i. e., the social change effect was an experimental artifact. A second explanation is that the higher the general optimism, the greater the difference in success probability between traditional and transitional people. Figure 4.2 shows some data which partially supports this second interpretation. Obviously, however, this motion needs further substantiation.

TABLE 4.10 TABLE OF MEANS SHOWING THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY-TYPE-BY-SOCIAL-CHANGE INTERACTION. SHADED BOXES SHOW CASES WHERE THE TREND WAS THE SAME IN QUALITY ACROSS ALL FOUR TYPES OF COMMUNITIES.

DIMENSIONS:	TYPE OF COMMUNITY							
	SUGAR		COCONUTS		RICE		FISHING	
	TRANS.	TRAD.	TRANS.	TRAD.	TRANS.	TRAD.	TRANS.	TRAD.
LAND	2.25	3.10	2.75	2.50	1.98	2.08	2.25	2.38
CONSUMER GOODS	1.95	3.12	1.72	2.25	1.85	2.22	1.85	2.18
MONTHLY INCOME	1.92	3.85	1.28	1.50	1.02	1.35	1.30	1.10
EDUCATION	1.75	3.48	1.82	1.95	1.32	1.22	1.28	1.78
OCCUPATION	2.25	3.22	2.05	2.10	1.85	1.32	1.32	1.18
POLITICAL CONTACTS	2.25	3.12	1.88	2.13	1.42	1.18	2.35	2.58
POLITICAL OFFICE	3.00	2.30	3.52	3.38	2.50	2.02	3.15	3.68

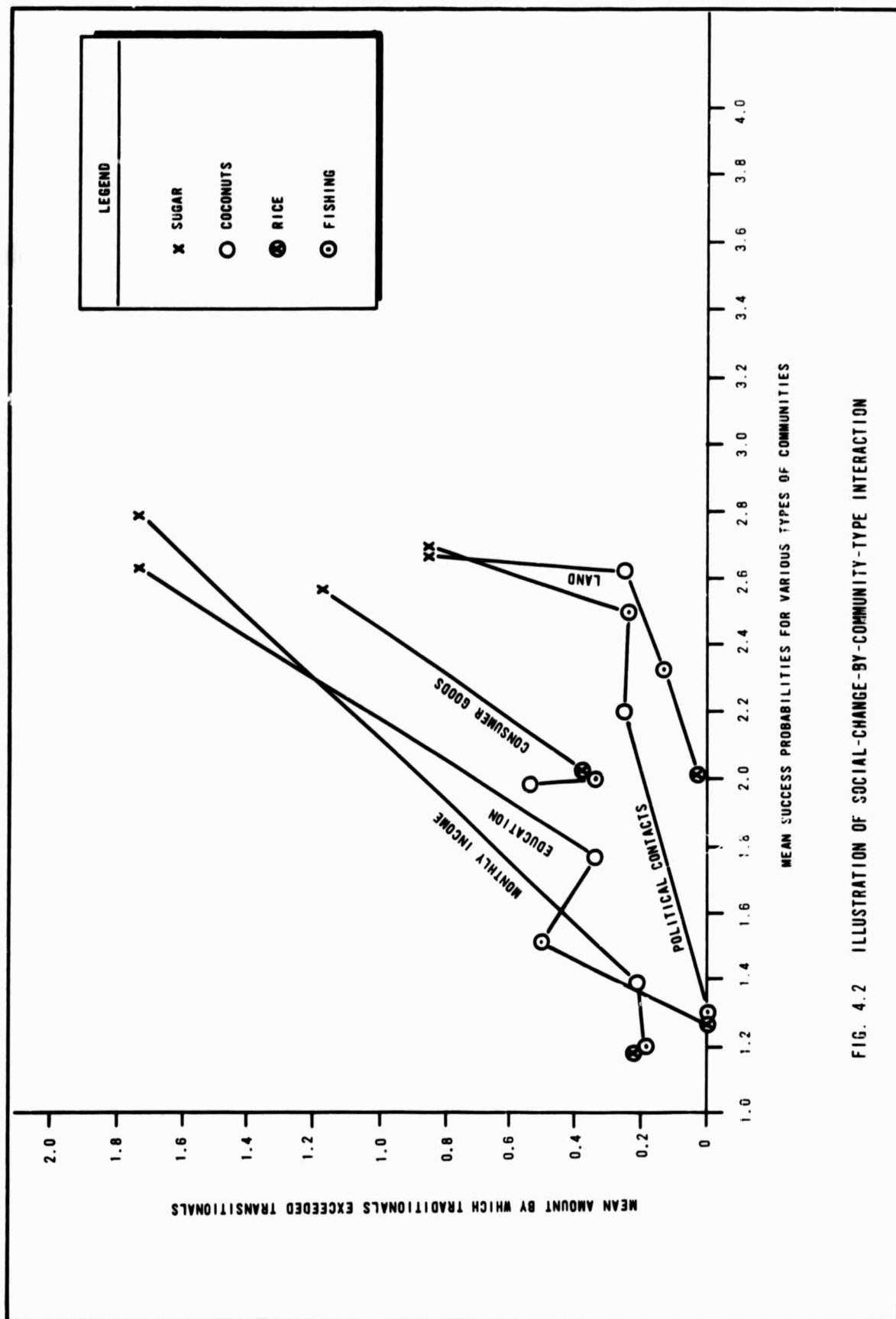


FIG. 4.2 ILLUSTRATION OF SOCIAL-CHANGE-BY-COMMUNITY-TYPE INTERACTION

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter introduced a concept of psychological unrest which had measurable properties. Briefly, an unrest index was computed by contrasting what one has to what one wants and weighting this discrepancy by the amount of subjective importance attached to the dimension in question. When such computations were made, it was found that they bore a high negative correlation with prosperity and a high positive one with poverty. While the importance of economic considerations was stronger than had been anticipated, the indices showed clearly that land reform and mass education programs would have considerable appeal in the Philippines -- as is the case elsewhere in the developing world.

The rest of the chapter was concerned with the relationship between psychological unrest and general optimism and contentment. The findings were as follows: First, there appeared to be such a thing as generalized economic optimism. Second, it bore little relationship to another general attitudinal factor -- perceptions concerning recent economic progress. Third, generalized optimism was lower in the traditional people, but perceptions concerning recent economic progress were higher in that same group. Fourth, big people in transitional areas appeared to be experiencing pressure because of a lack of capital. Further, big people had less general economic optimism than little people, although the trend was not completely clear. Fifth, expressed contentment increased as psychological unrest decreased. Sixth, big people had higher degrees of expressed self-sufficiency than little people; and, when a significant social change impact was noted, transitional people felt more self-sufficient than traditional people. Seventh, on the whole people felt fairly self-sufficient and were optimistic about their chances of reaching their aspirations. Eighth, sugar community residents had a high degree of expressed self-sufficiency and were very optimistic concerning their chances of reaching their aspirations. Finally, big people made more conservative estimates about chances of reaching their goals than little people, and traditional people displayed more optimism in this area than transitional people.

From the above it would appear that relating psychological unrest to various expressed feelings relevant to optimism, fatalism, self-sufficiency, etc., is not a simple affair. The reason appears to be that while each of the areas considered appeared to form a logically consistent unit, they bore little relationship

to each other. Table 4.11, which is an intercorrelation matrix, shows this point rather clearly. With this sort of data, it is hardly surprising that the picture is a bit muddled. Obviously, perceptions concerning economic optimism are more complicated than the writers originally thought. For this reason an analysis of open-ended responses is given in the next chapter.

TABLE 4.11 INTERNAL CONSISTENCY AND INTERCORRELATION INOICES OF FIVE AREAS RELATED TO PSYCHOLOGICAL UNREST					
	A ECONOMIC OPTIMISM	B RECENT PROGRESS	C SUBJECTIVE PROBABILITY	D SELF- SUFFICIENCY	E DISCONTENT
A ECONOMIC OPTIMISM	.671	.116	.186	.041	-.227
B RECENT PROGRESS		.815	.035	.187	.193
C SUBJECTIVE PROBABILITY			.707	-.187	-.072
D SELF-SUFFICIENCY				.901	-.068
E DISCONTENT					.450

The impact of social change upon the topics discussed in this chapter can be summarized as follows. It lowers psychological unrest and heightens general feelings of contentment, overall economic optimism, and perceived self-sufficiency. At the same time, it causes people to become more conservative in their estimates of their likelihood of successfully obtaining aspirations and makes them view recent economic progress less favorably than their more traditional counterparts, i.e., it takes more of a difference to be noticed. In general, its impact is similar in kind to that of socio-economic status.

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CHAPTER V
SOCIAL CHANGE AND CONTENTMENT

Presumably, how well one is doing economically would have some influence on how content he was with his present status, the town in which he lives, etc. Also, since the level of development of the community is likely to affect the level of progress of residents within the town, the amount of social change experienced would appear to be of significance. Translating this expectation into the design employed in this study one would expect that transitional respondents would provide more evidence of contentment than traditional respondents; that is, if economic progress was sufficiently powerful to overcome negative factors associated with change.

In this chapter an attempt is made to explore the basis of contentment in central Luzon. The term explore is used for two reasons; both of which were examined in some detail in the first report in this series.* The first of these stems from the dual impact of change. While one gains economically, he may lose emotionally because traditional ways of reducing stress may not be applicable to the new state-of-affairs. Secondly, getting valid response to questions about such an important topic is especially difficult in developing countries.

For these reasons the chapter will attempt to deal with the problem of defining the basis of contentment on a more general, illustrative level. One goal is to define what features of a town make it "good." These are grouped into various categories and the relative importance of the categories are contrasted. Following this comparison a brief discussion is given to happiness and contentment and how they appear to be influenced by factors which make a town a good place in which to live. Changing kinship relationships are also discussed in some detail.

Of particular interest are responses to such open-ended questions as the following: What makes a town a good town? What aspects of a town make people content and happy? What do people like best about their town? Five questions in the interview dealt with these questions. The following pages attempt to extract from verbal comments of the respondents a sense of what contributes to

* See Chapters II and III in The Impact of Social Change in Developing Countries by J. McKendry, M. McKendry, and G. Guthrie.

satisfaction. Perhaps it will be easiest to look at results in terms of our five basic areas: civic, social, economic, educational and recreational attributes of the community.

Briefly, the economic conditions and the social climate and, to a lesser degree, the civic attributes of the town are the most important contributors to the degree of happiness and contentment for the Filipino townspeople. About three-fourths of the transitional and traditional respondents mentioned both economic and social factors. Residents of transitional communities were more inclined to cite other aspects of the town, doubtless because they had more civic, educational and recreational facilities. About 66 percent of the transitionals and 53 percent of the traditionals mentioned civic aspects. Three times as many of the transitionals mentioned both recreation (25%) and/or education (9%).

Social Factors

Among those aspects of the community which respondents liked best, social factors were most frequently mentioned, with economic issues being a close second in the majority of the towns and socio-economic classes. About 72 percent of the respondents of both sets of communities discussed social factors. Little people from the barrio in general tended to include them less frequently than other classes; transitional big people mentioned social considerations more frequently than other groups (85%). There was much more of a spread in frequency of response between classes in the changing communities. For example, between 69 and 75 percent of all traditional classes spoke of their social environment, whereas 27 percent more transitional big people than little people of the barrios discussed it.

Social considerations would therefore appear to be prominent contributors to contentment and to the concept of a "good town" in the minds of members of both types of communities. However, both positive and negative aspects of the social environment were more commonly mentioned by the traditional community members, thereby indicating that they took on more importance in traditional areas. Of the topics included as "social aspects"--ties with the hometown, nearness of friends and relatives, characteristics of the people, personal status, and class relationships--the first three were considerations mentioned frequently by traditional community members. In contrast, personal status and class

relationships were relatively uncommon responses and were mentioned by both transitional and traditional respondents about equally.

"I was born here." "I am from here." "This is my hometown." Such comments were frequently the only explanation offered for being happy and content. Such replies implied that considerable importance was placed upon a sense of belonging, a sense of security, and/or sentimental attachment. They suggested that there were many effective ties which made it very difficult to leave one's home, one's friends and relations for other places and other opportunities. This sense of home included the heritage of ancestors who had lived there before, one's circle of friends and acquaintances, one's properties, lands and house. It included the implication that people were content where they were, that contentment was relative to the town and individual. As might be expected, comments about home ties were far more common among the traditional respondents.

"My relatives are here," and "My friends are here," implied the same emotional security as "This is my hometown." In some of the smaller traditional towns, most people were related to each other; and the extended family system with its implications of close emotional ties, mutual helping and concern was in effect among most of the members of the town. People could depend upon each other for warmth, sympathy, and effective support, as well as for more tangible political influence or economic assistance, especially for support in time of need--for food, money for hospital expenses and sickness. Even in transitional communities, one might have been kin to everyone within the neighborhood or the next few blocks. Thus, the same sense of security functions in a changing town although there are far more outsiders. Again, such responses were more common among traditional community members.

From the above it appears that there is more of a sense of ties with the home and with family and friends in the traditional communities, although this same sense is certainly not lacking in the changing towns. Perhaps, the larger, more populated and impersonal city is more likely to generate less of a sense of security, even though relatives tend to live in the same area. There also appears to be less of a chance for actual involvement in the town itself; and identification with the town, its officials, and its people is more difficult.

Respondents of most communities, and especially of the traditional ones, perceived other residents as having a constellation of characteristics--goodness,

friendliness, helpfulness, and unity--which was another source of satisfaction and security. These general characteristics combined with mutual helping, warmth, support, toleration and hospitality all appeared to contribute to the sense of belonging, of being wanted and protected, which was so important to contentment.

A few of both types of communities spoke of other aspects of the social system. People tended to be happiest when there were no strangers around, when there were no Chinese in the town, when there were many Catholics. The respondent's social position was occasionally mentioned as a source of contentment, especially by the big people. ("People have a high regard for me, for my profession, my moral status, religious and civic leadership.") Good relationships between classes were also viewed as a source of contentment. In general, the big people were more inclined to see "equality" and "brotherhood" than the little people.

Economic Aspects

About three-fourths of the respondents of both the transitional and the traditional communities mentioned economic factors as contributors to their degree of contentment. This was just slightly, but nonsignificant statistically, above the number who mentioned social factors. When the statistics were broken down by social class, there was more disparity among the traditional respondents, though it was nonsignificant. Little people of the barrio considered economic factors the least, and little people of the Poblacion the most. For this one socioeconomic group twenty-one percent more transitionals mentioned economic factors than social. This finding indicates that barrio people of the changing communities have more of an economic orientation and less of the social one which appears to be very important among traditional residents.

The most crucial aspects of economic contentment included having a job or means of livelihood, living in a prosperous, progressive town with adequate transportation facilities, modern utilities, and a relatively high standard of living, and having enough to fill wants and needs. The desire for work was observed to be very strong. It was not only viewed as a source of livelihood, but also as an aspect of life with which one identified strongly. Often the response to the question, why are people content, particularly in the traditional communities, was very simply "I can fish" or "farming," or "my job is here." People

commonly responded that they had good jobs and that they liked their jobs. Easy jobs, stable jobs, jobs that provided enough income, and a variety of choices in means of livelihood appeared to be very attractive to all people. People wanted to earn enough to make ends meet, some were happy that they had an easy time of making a livelihood, and others were content to work very hard to eke out their existences. Opportunities to increase or supplement income were also perceived as sources of satisfaction. Improvements in farming techniques, increments in number or size of harvests, new means of fishing, poultry and pig-gery projects and secondary occupations, such as a "buy and sell" store, or a little extra fishing on the side, were satisfying even if they necessitated more work.

Prosperity in business and growing business opportunities were important sources of satisfaction to those who participated in commercial ventures--mainly the big people. However, some little people as well ran small dry goods and sari-sari stores. In most of the traditional communities there was little in the way of business enterprise--only fishing or farming and a basically barter economy. One exception was the traditional coconut community of Lil which had a major cottage industry aside from the farming. Here people took great pride and satisfaction in the slipper/step-in and arrowroot cookie factories--which provided a major source of income. This fact appears consistent with the observation that members of most communities without factories and businesses missed the employment opportunities such enterprises would bring. Residents of areas with factories, such as residents of the transitional coconut community of Pab, which was the location of a desiccated coconut factory, found that associated job opportunities provided a real source of economic security. Aside from businesses, the presence of a good market in the community for trading agricultural products and buying goods for consumption was highly valued in more progressive communities. "We have a market where we can buy and sell anything," was a common comment in Pab. In some of the less developed traditional Poblacions there were no markets and the people had to travel to other towns to exchange goods.

An increase in the availability of and consumption of goods was a further economic source of satisfaction. This included both the daily needs of life, which one hoped to be able to acquire at the local market, and the luxury items which were becoming increasingly available. For the wealthy, these items most

commonly included cars, television, refrigerators and stereo phonographs. For the poorer folk, the transistor radio was the most desired and easily attainable item. The improved standard of living affected housing as well. More people were able to build newer and sturdier homes. In general, "nipa" huts had been replaced with houses with roofs of galvanized iron. The very wealthy tended to build more modern American style homes.

Although most people held tenancies or leased their land, for the farmer the possibility of owning land seemed to be a crucial issue. In many communities people mentioned that there were no haciendas in their town, and thus, at least conceptually, even the poor could own a bit of land. This was perceived as something which people could work for, and hope for, even if at present they owned none.

As a general rule, the more facilities and utilities which a town had, the more these aspects contributed to a sense of contentment. Also, the respondent's perception of the economic advantages and the potential of the town, which were tied up in the utilities and facilities, was often relative to the subjective evaluation of the "progressiveness" of the community. Thus, although the transitionals were basically more content with the more plentiful facilities available to them, respondents of some of the more backward traditional communities found a relatively greater source of satisfaction in the few newly constructed dirt feeder roads to the barrios. This was true even though they complained that they had inadequate facilities compared to other towns. Evidently, they saw their town as progressing, as being better than before, even if it was a slow process.

Ideally people appear to be most content in a community with adequate roads and transportation facilities and sufficient utilities such as electricity, a safe water supply, a sewage system, and street lights. However, again, contentment may be relative to the degree of perceived progress, and the exposure to these utilities. For example, the frequency with which respondents of Lil spoke proudly of new mercury lamps, which had recently been placed on a few of the major streets, was equal to the frequency with which citizens of its transitional counterpart, Jos, spoke of the three major bus lines in operation. Evidently, facilities like a water works system or a power plant were taken for granted in a community like Jos and respondents pointed with satisfaction to other things such as the strategic location of the city along the major highway of the province, and the fact that the city was the provincial commercial and business center. In general,

transitional communities tended to have far more utilities. In Cal, for example, those who worked for the sugar estate lived in a self-contained village provided for the physical and economic needs of the workers. Housing, light, water, a hospital, a church and a playground were present as well as economic aids such as bonuses, a rice subsidy, and low prices on goods.

Some respondents attributed advances of their community to the attitudes and the virtues of the people--their industriousness, their business-mindedness, their relatively high level of education. Nearness to a major town or city was also important to many--both for the economic advantages of buying and selling in the bigger market and for the cosmopolitan atmosphere and contact with the rest of the world.

One final economic factor gleaned from responses to open-ended questions pointed out an important difference between the responses of the traditional and transitional groups of communities, viz., the obvious subsistence living, and apparent contentment with subsistence living which was unique to the traditional respondents. People appeared to be content when they had "enough." In some communities it was sufficient that no one went hungry, that the family never missed a meal. Perhaps this was indicative of the preoccupation with the ever present menace of starvation. Those who just barely eked out a living were satisfied with just being able to provide enough. "I am not too hard-up here," expressed a sense of relative well-being in the present environment which might have been jeopardized by change. People are content if they are able to provide for their wants and necessities. They find security in a community where one does not need to depend on a good harvest or constant work, where one does not have to provide cash. Among the traditionals there tended to be much more of a sharing and bartering economy than in the changing communities. People appeared to be able to get along without money or without a good crop or a good catch of fish, for they could depend on their friends and relatives for assistance. A community with abundant supplies of food and other small necessities was all they would ask for. This attitude was reflected in such comments as the following:

"We are able to provide for our necessities."

"We are not slaves. One seldom sees a beggar. No one starves."

"People are not so hard-up here."

"We are poor and we have no land, but we never miss a meal."

"No matter how poor, we are secure in having something to eat."

"No one goes hungry here."

"There is an abundance of supply, of basic needs, especially food."

"One can live here without money."

"Even if I don't have a good job, one is able to live."

In contrast, after reviewing responses of residents of the transitional communities, one gets more of a sense of orientation towards a monetary system. A transitionalist works, produces, buys and sells goods. Although there is a great deal of sharing among relatives and friends, he must also function within the economy of the town which is basically of a more money-oriented nature.

Civic Aspects

Civic aspects of the community, which were third in frequency of mention as factors which contributed to degree of happiness and contentment, were more commonly mentioned by respondents of the transitional communities (66%) than the traditional communities (53%). The class breakdowns, indicated that barrio people mentioned civic factors the least frequently, which made sense considering their peripheral relationship to the town. However, this finding may be accounted for in part by the lower frequency of response which in general applied to the barrio folk. Civic aspects were a more common consideration than even social factors among the transitional little people of the barrio. Only economic concerns were viewed as being more important. Traditional barrio people and big people in particular seemed less cognizant of, or less impressed by, municipal aspects than their counterparts. Members of changing communities mentioned civic factors about 16 percent more frequently.

In our coding system civic aspects included such things as the peace and order situation, the local government, the town with its attractions and facilities, and the civic spirit and morality of the people. Basically, the nature of the town and the peace and order situation were viewed as the two most crucial civic factors which determined what made a good town and what made people content in the town. Comparatively few respondents mentioned the administration itself and the attitude of the people.

People of the traditional communities were more content with the peace and order situation than their transitional counterparts. They mentioned the peacefulness of their town more frequently as a cause for contentment and less frequently as a cause of discontent. The comments "This is a peaceful town" or "The peace and order situation is good" were common blanket expressions for

a basic sense of safety and security which was felt to contribute greatly to contentment with the community. A peaceful town was defined as one where there was little stealing, drinking and gambling, where people did not need to guard their animals and property, where they were not afraid to go out at night, and where people did not need to fear trouble from others. Safety from killings, kidnappings, and gangsterism were also mentioned.

Aside from the peace and order, the most frequently mentioned civic aspect of the community which contributed to contentment had to do with the town itself. The town was described as an "enjoyable place to live," "a clean town with a cool climate and beautiful scenery," or as a generally good environment. Its facilities included such things as an attractive and improved church and plaza, a remodeled municipal hall, a local health center, and accessible schools. One source of the sense of a "good town" centered about recent improvements in buildings and monuments--the church, plaza, and town hall.

A community which is a city, such as was the case in the transitional coconut community of Pab, was perceived as being inherently attractive and satisfying because of its status. The common response "Pab is a city" implied a sense of contentment which sprang from all that a city means to a Filipino--a greater diversity and more opportunities, a more cosmopolitan atmosphere, more utilities and conveniences, and a greater municipal income.

Transitional respondents had more positive things to say about their local government than the traditionals. Both groups complained about graft and politics, but in the changing communities the role of the government in city affairs was more apparent to the residents and more positively received. Traditional comments on politics tended to have more of a personal flavor to them; e. g., "I know the mayor." People in larger, changing communities had less access personally to officials and were more inclined to speak abstractly of the good job which the "city administration" was doing. In general, people of the changing communities were impressed with the achievements and efforts of the government. Frequent comments were that the local administration was good; it looked out for the people and was helpful. We can get a sense of the difference in tone of response by examining comments from both sets of communities.

Traditionals:

- "The senator is from this town."
- "The mayor attends to us whenever we have matters to discuss with him."
- "I like the mayor--I like the way he runs the town."
- "The town is progressive due to the leadership of good local officials."

Transitionals:

- "The city administration is good, it is for the people."
- "Municipal officials are helpful."
- "There are government agencies in the city."

Despite this tendency of the transitionals to mention positive aspects of the government more frequently, respondents of more traditional communities often commented on the good civic spirit of the people and a relatively stressless existence despite religious and political differences. Apparently, as has already been indicated, there was more of a sense of belonging and of unity, an identification with the government and the people, in the more traditional areas. One difference in the two groups of communities, which was especially evident in the case of the two rice communities, was in the pace, demands, wants and needs of life. Respondents of traditional Tal talked frequently of "the simple life" and "the life with few needs and wants." A smaller number of members of transitional Jos mentioned this. The "simplicity of life" was described as one of the things which made people happy. "Life is good--it is unrushed, the pace is not hectic or overly busy."

Other Factors

Educational advantages were mentioned by less than six percent of all groups except for the transitional big people, where 17 percent included them as sources of satisfaction in the town. This finding may have indicated that these facilities were available only to them, rather than that the little people were not interested in education. (The importance of education has already been stressed in regard to aspirations for one's children.) Responses of the transitional interviewees were far more oriented to the prevalence of educational facilities. For example, the people of Cal found great satisfaction in the education provided by the sugar

estate. Some also mentioned the quality of city educational opportunities. For example, residents of Pab mentioned the higher quality of city educational institutions. By contrast, traditional community members stressed the fact that they were able to send their children to school, rather than having mentioned specific facilities. Perhaps this was because the opportunity to go to school may have been relatively new to them.

It was the transitionals, and mainly the big people, who had access to more adequate facilities and institutions of higher learning. For example, in the transitional rice community of Jos the barrio people tended to mention improvements in barrio schools; the Poblacion little people mentioned the schools of the Poblacion; and the big people were the ones who mentioned the availability of colleges. Though aspirations might have reached to the college level, people evidently found sources of contentment in what they had, which in most communities had increased in the past decade. None mentioned discontentment about the educational facilities and opportunities available.

Although recreation was not mentioned by more than 31 percent of any one status group as a source of happiness and contentment in the community, it was mentioned three times more frequently by the transitionals than the traditionals. It seemed to be most important to the barrio people and least important to the big people. Almost twice as many little people of the barrio mentioned recreation as a source of happiness than did big people. There were two differences in responses of the two social change groups. The transitionals tended to mention more frequently specific facilities, such as recreation halls, swimming pools, TV's, bowling alleys, and billiards--an obvious result of the increased number and variety of facilities in the changing communities. Responses in traditional communities, where there were few recreational facilities, concentrated more on activities with friends and acquaintances which required no special equipment--the dances for young and old, drinking sprees with friends, "bumming around" with the gang, and just being with friends to relax and enjoy leisure time.

All people appeared to like a "happy town." That is, they liked a place where they could do pretty much as they pleased, where there were many means of recreation, where they could have good times with their friends and acquaintances. Dances, drinking, dating, fiestas, movies, and sports were common sources of entertainment in most communities. Gambling prevailed as well--it almost

seemed to be the national sport. Some also mentioned the little pleasures which meant so much to them--the local girls, beautiful women, the freedom to walk in town at night, the places to go for loitering, and leisure, the coconuts and lanzones for eating. Many mentioned looking forward to the occasional dances, the fiestas and dinners which accompanied them.

Changing Kinship Relationships

A closely knit extended family system is a key feature of any traditional society having economic, social, and civic overtones. In the Philippines where families are large, an observable manifestation of this feature can be obtained by simply inquiring about the number of relatives one has living in the immediate area. When this question was asked, two-thirds of all respondents in the survey replied that they had at least 30 relatives in the town in which they lived

A larger number of big people than little people of both sets of communities reported they had more than 30 relatives in the immediate area. Also, the traditional big people tended to have a higher percentage (84%) than the transitional big people (72%). The apparently larger number of relatives attributable to the big people may be an artifact, however, since there is a greater likelihood that relations will make themselves known to big people in the hope of obtaining aid.

What this community of kin means to the Filipino is essentially that he has a group of people who will support him, help him, and sympathize with him. In a very real sense he "belongs." One gathers the idea from the tone of some of the interviews for both the traditional and transitional communities that relatives were a special group of people with whom one automatically shared a common bond. This common bond, which was slightly more prevalent in the traditional communities, included an effective, empathetic response to all kin. This aspect is illustrated in the following sample comments.

"Relatives can sympathize with each other during bereavement."

"We are thoughtful of one another."

"Relatives give advice and concern."

"Relatives understand each other."

"Relatives can give sympathy to each other."

Socializing with relations involved interactions ranging from the day-to-day gossip between sisters or cousins who were neighbors to the occasional family

reunion. Visiting with one another was seen as one way of staying close. It appears, however, that there is more to pervasive support than a subjective sense of belonging. Mutual and reciprocal helping and sharing are basic to the extended kinship system and are especially vital to those who live on a subsistence level and cannot from any practical standpoint maintain themselves and their families on the basis of what they eke out of their livelihood. This point is illustrated by such comments as the following:

"We help each other in times of need."

"We have good 'pakikisama!'" (a feeling of comradeship)

"We help so that we will get help in the future!" and

"Relatives help each other in stress, in time of need--with funeral expenses and other things."

Such responses were more prevalent among the little people for whom mutual helping and reciprocity were a core relationship vital to subsistence as well as to personal ties.

Another very important function of relatives is the provision of security and protection. Possibly one of the reasons so many of the respondents had many relatives in their town was that they hesitated to move to towns where they did not have kinship support to fall back on. Filipinos generally do not seem to like strangers. They mistrust them. Some respondents criticized other localities because they had many strangers in town. Some complained of the increase in outsiders in their own town. Additional support for this notion comes from the fact that people frequently mentioned they were content and happy, and liked their town best because of the supportive atmosphere of people who cared. It appeared to be enough to say simply "My family is here," "My friends are here," "My relatives are here." For all the communities, many of the questions aimed at determining the source of contentment and happiness were answered in part by such concise explanations--explanations which implied a host of subtle environmental supports such as warmth, security, and protection. People often spoke of the people of their communities as being warm, friendly, and cooperative, providing an atmosphere of social well-being. Although this support probably applied mainly to kin, it apparently included nonrelatives in the community as well--the people with whom one had grown up: "People here are friendly, helpful, like a family." "Most people living here were born here. They trust

and help each other." "There is cooperation and unity and mutual helping among us."

Some towns, such as traditional coconut community Lil, took pride in their hospitality and friendliness to strangers in making outsiders feel at home. Whether this applied only to transient guests or also included those who wished to move in more permanently was difficult to determine. In the transitional fishing community of Oba, people seemed to genuinely welcome those who were driven from overcrowded Manila: "Squatters driven out of other places are welcome here." "It is not overcrowded here. People can come here from crowded places." "One can build a house on a vacant lot for free."

However, in most of the communities strangers were viewed negatively rather than positively. The perceived disadvantage of leaving the security of one's relatives was very evident in the traditional fishing community of Nas. Many Visayans had moved into the area, mainly for economic reasons, leaving their relatives in other towns. In general, they were very poor and lived by fishing and doing odd jobs. Many commented that they were badly mistreated by the Tagalogs. For example, they reported that Tagalogs did not repay if they borrowed from them. Another problem for the new arrivals was the "tough guys," people who demanded extortion in the form of fish and money without working for it ("diligensiya") and who harassed and mistreated those who resisted. These tough guys particularly picked on "outsiders" who had no recourse to protection by kin.

In a situation such as the one in the traditional fishing village of Nas, the rational basis behind the warmth and security attached to being close to relatives was apparent. Therefore, it appeared that such a condition was likely to prevail for a long time. At the same time, however, a comparison of responses of traditional and transitional subjects indicated that the traditional extended family system was being modified by social change. This was especially true when examining responses of the higher socio-economic group. The question was how this change was perceived.

Changes in the role of relatives, which accounted for their being less close, were seen as negative rather than positive by most of the population, with the exception of some big people who viewed the change as part of a modern approach to life. In general, however, both big people and little people saw the loss of contact between relatives as less fortunate. These changes in the role of

relatives were intimately connected with the effective and helping relationship between relatives which many believed was breaking down due to economic and social changes. For both social groups, the transitional respondents, especially the big people, were far more inclined to indicate that relatives cared less than they did a decade ago. The traditionals showed a greater tendency to consider the kinship relationship the same as ten years ago.

We have already pointed out that reasons why relatives are close include the kinship bond itself, i. e., mutual and reciprocal helping, empathetic, effective support, and visiting with each other. Among the reasons for estrangement, respondents of both types of communities mentioned disparity in social and economic status; "modern" trends towards a more hectic life, individualism, and materialism; economic and practical factors such as employment, poverty, and distance; dissension over politics, property, or inheritance, and less visiting and familiarity. These problems were examined from two overlapping viewpoints: the interpersonal stresses within the kinship relationship, and the physical, circumstantial and materialistic reasons for alienation. Interpersonal stresses are discussed first.

In all communities there was at least some mention of dissension among relatives, though the primary causes differed from town to town. In a country which took politics as seriously as the Philippines, political differences naturally became an important irritant in familial relations. Political dissension ranged from occasional squabbles to extreme distance and coolness. Some respondents confined their disagreements to election year; others carried their grudges constantly. A few respondents mentioned problems over religious differences, though this was not common. Some from the transitional coconut community of Cal mentioned drifting apart over aspirations and competitive spirit. Problems over inheritance and property were mentioned occasionally in several communities, but apparently this was a very serious cause of turmoil in the traditional sugar community of Lil. Here, many residents mentioned alienation over inheritance and over land distribution. These feelings are exemplified by the following sample comments:

"Differences over inheritance causes many hard feelings among relatives."
"Problems over the distribution of lands cause difficulties and quarrels."
"Now that the misunderstandings over landownership are solved, relatives are much closer in Lil."

"Money and property disputes drive people apart."

"People drift apart over their aspirations and competitive spirit."

Another stress within the system even more frequently mentioned, especially in the transitional communities, was the breaking down of the "big brother" relationship of the rich to the poor. Most of the literature on Filipino social structure cited the traditional-paternalistic helping and supporting role of the wealthy as central to the society. However, several aspects of responses to our interviews indicated that even if the relationship existed in a more or less idealistic form in the past, it does not today. For one thing, landlords and other wealthy individuals tended to charge rather exorbitant rates of interest for land use, work implements, and loans for necessities and emergencies. Secondly, many discussed the alienation of the rich from the poor as one of the major reasons that relatives are less close today than a decade ago. Surprisingly, one does not gather from the interviews that the exploitative nature of the big people-little people relationship is an obvious cause for irritation. Respondents did not express any discontent over the rich milking the poor of all their potential gains, or of the poor taking as much advantage of wealthier kin as possible. Instead the tone of the responses indicating that this relationship was breaking down emphasized that today the rich cannot be bothered with the poor; they tend to forget them; and the poverty-beset relative is either envious, or more likely ashamed to approach the rich.

Most of these comments were supplied by the little people, although a few conscientious and sympathetic big people mentioned the same problems. Basically, the big people had much to gain by discarding the burden of poorer relations to whom they gave economic and social aid, especially as the Philippines moved into a materialistic Western orientation. It was the little people who suffered from the loss--a loss of economic aid which may for some have served to provide the margin by which they barely supported their families, and a loss of any social privileges and protections which association with a wealthier family might have provided. The big people, more than the little people, especially those of the transitional communities, tended to rationalize the breakdown of the big-brother relationship more frequently on the basis of changes brought by "modern times," the new sense of independence and of materialism, business and personal pressure, and economic concerns.

One of the modifications in interaction which respondents saw as both casual and resultant was a decrease in visiting among relatives, in family reunions, and in interest and rapport between the old and younger generations. Some commented that people no longer considered it important to introduce children to their relatives and that young people had no sense of responsibility to them. This perceived general decrease in contact was similar in all communities.

Factors which accounted for disintegration of the relationships between relatives which were more or less external to the social system itself were also discussed frequently by respondents. Many of these were economic: people must concentrate on their employment, on providing for the family, on subsisting, on making money. Also increased mobility had put distance between relatives. As indicated above, another favorite culprit, especially among the big people, was the changes that had come about with "modern times"--the increased independence, education, materialism, individuality, and the hectic pace of life. One got the impression that people subjectively felt that people moved more frequently and farther, that they led busier, more hectic lives, that they were more concerned with the acquisition of material goods and less concerned with social ties, and that especially among the big people a "modern" spirit and sense of individualism and materialism had emerged.

Both traditional and transitional groups mentioned the changes brought by "modern times," sometimes attributed to Americanization, as causes of estrangement of relatives. Some evaluated this positively, some negatively. Thus, the perception was that modern times had brought with it a more hectic pace of life, a more materialistic orientation, greater independence and individualism. This was attributed by some to exposure to education. There was some indication that some of the changing attitudes toward relatives on the part of those who had an opportunity to acquire higher education (i. e., the big people) might have been due to the exposure to these more Western concepts.

Discussion

When the research interview was originally composed, Filipino consultants suggested that it was essential to ask two separate questions about happiness and contentment in the town. They implied that for the Filipino there was a definite distinction between these two aspects of satisfaction. To that end we incorporated two different questions into the interview. Results indicated that the two concepts were closely related. For example, in both traditional and transitional

communities the percentage of respondents who indicated the different degrees of happiness and contentment were nearly identical. Only slight shades of differences were found by a detailed description of responses to open-ended questions.

In summary, we may conclude that contentment and happiness stem basically from the same aspects of life--social, economic and civic; that the same reasons apply even when we narrow these factors down to more specific statements. The difference is basically in the degree to which each of the different environmental conditions influences contentment and/or happiness. Economic factors have a more pronounced influence on contentment though civic and social aspects are also important. Happiness is contingent mainly upon both social and economic factors.

Thus, it appears that social and economic aspects are of crucial importance to achieving happiness and contentment. The key role of economic factors was demonstrated clearly when examining responses to questions pertaining to changes in contentment and how it could be increased. People appeared to be generally more content than they were a decade ago. Almost universally this was attributed to improvement in their personal economic situation, in aspects of the community which contributed to economic advancement, and in opportunities for employment and financial success. A few mentioned the peace and order situation and a smattering included the friendliness of the people or educational advances. However, one can conclude that any attempts to increase the satisfaction of the people must involve basic improvements in the economic situation. Ways of increasing contentment were perceived similarly in all eight communities.

Improving the means of livelihood of the people was one of the major sources of increased contentment. New equipment, new techniques, and improved methods were frequently mentioned in all communities.

"Now we have improved harvest with new fertilizers."

"There are new farming methods. We have better harvests."

"We have irrigation now, and fertile land."

"We are able to plant more varieties of crops: rice, onions, vegetables, and plants."

"Fishing is improved today. It is more productive. There are new ways to catch fish."

"Now we have new equipment, motorboats."

"The livelihood is easy today."

"Today it is easier to earn."

People also attributed contentment to the progressiveness of their town, especially the transitionals.

"The town has progressed."

"Business is better."

"We have new and improved roads. There are more feeder roads to the barrio."

"Transportation is improved."

"This is a transportation center. We have more trade."

"We have a good market. We can buy many things there."

"This is a business center. Business is good."

The higher prices which agricultural products brought at market, and the improved standard of living were also very frequently mentioned. Land ownership, job opportunities, diversity of means of livelihood and income were also included.

"Prices of farm products are higher today."

"Our crops bring more money today."

"Rice brings a higher price."

"Living conditions are improved."

"The standard of living is higher. People have transistor radios."

"We have luxuries and modern things like TV today."

"People get enough to live on--food is abundant."

"People have lower incomes in other towns."

"Other towns have no sources of income but farming."

"There are more opportunities to work here."

"There are many opportunities to farm."

"Most own what land they till."

"People don't have haciendas here."

The smattering of noneconomic reasons included some of the following:

"People are good and friendly. They share their food."

"The friendliness of the people makes me content."

"I was born here. One likes one's own place."

"People are warm to each other--like a family."

"My relatives are here."

"It is more peaceful here. There are no troubles."

"The peace and order is good."

"It is more peaceful here."

"There are many recreation facilities here."

For those who expressed less contentment today and less contentment in their own towns, the responses were also almost entirely about economic factors--the lack of job opportunities, the lack of land to farm, the poor harvests, competition in fishing, high prices of commodities, the high cost of living, lack of development, lack of irrigation, the desire for luxury items, and the necessity to "scratch and peck" to subsist.

Summary

Ignoring for the moment numerous additional points made with regard to differences in outlook between big and little people, it appears that the one regarding a deterioration of the traditional paternalistic pattern is most important. Several more important generalizations concerning the effects of social change are summarized below.

- (1) Economic Progress is crucial to feelings of contentment. For that reason, the next chapter treats the problem of economic opportunities in some detail using specific examples from the two rice villages.
- (2) Traditional people place greater emphasis upon social relationships (particularly of a helpful, supportive type) as a source of contentment than do transitional people. The latter group tends to emphasize economic factors.
- (3) Transitional people place greater emphasis on the importance of civic aspects than do traditional people.
- (4) Recreation of a formalized sort is more important to transitionals than traditionals. Further, there appear to be substantial differences in what is perceived as recreation.
- (5) There is a surprising amount of contentment--an acceptance of one's fate--among people who live at subsistence or near subsistence conditions.
- (6) The changing pattern of kinship relations is in accord with the general hypothesis advanced in Chapter II. Here is a case of an emotionally embedded issue which is not conducive to economic advancement. According to the theory presented in Chapter II of the first report in this

series, kinship patterns will therefore be forced to change. Evidence presented here is that attitudes are changing toward more independence from the extended family even though this is perceived to be unfortunate.

- (7) Perceptions regarding progress appear to vary considerably as a function of one's prior experience. There is a quantum increase in the complexity of things perceived as progress, once higher amounts of change have been experienced.

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CHAPTER VI

ILLUSTRATIVE DISCUSSION OF THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Analyses discussed at length in previous chapters were aimed at synthesizing specific data into a form which permitted valid generalizations to be made concerning the impact of social change. Many of these generalizations showed the powerful force of economic factors. In this chapter an attempt is made to portray the economic impact of social change in more human terms. The device employed differs from the one used previously. Here, one goes from the general to the specific, using examples to illustrate a point. Also, instead of dealing with a series of four sets of communities, only the traditional and transitional rice communities are mentioned.

In short, the approach is descriptive as opposed to analytical; illustrative rather than comprehensive; and generally nonstatistical in character. Also, some attention is given to the subtle influence of urbanization when level of development and socio-economic status are equated. Hopefully, this material will provide the reader with an increased understanding of what previously cited generalizations mean in terms of differences in everyday living.

Differences in Agricultural Practices

The major source of livelihood for people residing in the traditional rice village of Tal was the output of a single rice crop per year. Lack of water and the absence of an irrigation system denied the large amounts of water needed to grow rice other than once during the rainy season. Incomes of villagers were supplemented by a few additional agricultural sidelines, the most common one being the raising of pigs. Commercial establishments were almost nonexistent and were largely limited to a few sari-sari stores--miniaturized versions of the U.S. country store which more closely approximated a small newstand or a tobacco shop in size and backlog of stock. At these stores, residents met to chat in the evening, to drink beer or soda, purchase small items, and listen to the radio. The commercial nature of the store was established subtly and simply by the presence of a sturdy counter which separated the buyer and vendor. This counter also served the useful function of precluding relatives from helping themselves to the stock exposed on shelves behind the vendor. For all practical purposes, there were no other business or commercial establishments in town.

The town itself was not dominated by a hacienda. Consequently, the majority of people--big and little alike--owned their own land. When finances permitted, they strove to improve the value of their holdings by such measures as introducing new farming techniques, applying fertilizers, and leveling the hilly, uneven portions of the land with bulldozers. In such a setting it is not too surprising that the ownership of land was cited as a major source of contentment by the residents.

The pattern of land ownership can be grasped quickly by reviewing a few statistics. Two-thirds of the residents were landowners. Most of the thirty-four percent who did not own land were little people. Approximately forty percent of the big people owned ten hectares (one hectare contains approximately two and one-fourth acres). Less than five percent of the little people owned more than five hectares, with approximately half owning between one to five hectares. Little people residing in the Poblacion tended to own slightly larger amounts of land than little people residing in a nearby barrio. More than ninety percent of the residents interviewed in Tal leased or held tenancies on land. In the case where they also owned land, this practice tended to increase the land cultivated by a single family.

In Tal, as in most Philippine communities, considerable individual initiative was demonstrated by the fact that approximately half of the male residents supplemented their income by engaging in occupations other than farming. Sometimes, these occupations were the basic source of livelihood--such as in the case of the mayor, a doctor, a dentist, or a practicing attorney. Again, as was noticed in all eight communities studied, big people seemed to be highly industrious. For example, in Tal they tended to engage in two to four other enterprises besides rice farming.

Industriousness was not limited to the big people, however. More than forty percent of the little people had a second occupation--usually only one as opposed to the two to four of the big people. Typical examples included carpentry, raising poultry or pigs, and running a sari-sari or palay (rice) store. Since the availability of such additional work was substantially greater in the Poblacion as opposed to the smaller, surrounding barrios, it was not surprising to note that the frequency with which little people engaged in additional activities was greater when they resided in the Poblacion.

The agricultural situation in the transitional rice community of Jos presented an interesting contrast to that in Tal. First, there was a plentiful supply of fertile land which yielded good harvests. The presence of an irrigation system permitted growth of a smaller secondary crop of rice in addition to the one major rice crop per year. Other, more important, secondary crops included peanuts, onions, and vegetables. In some cases, farming practices were partially mechanized. Within the town of Jos itself there was an active produce market where people bought and sold goods. In short, the pattern of farming began to approximate that of more successful farming in the U. S. Most people had enough food to satisfy their needs and wants and at least a small surplus which could be marketed.

In contrast to the fragmented land ownership in Tal, only one-third of Jos's residents farmed their own land. Approximately one-fourth of the little people owned from one to two hectares which could be used to grow food sufficient for family use. The rest of the land was owned by big people, many of whom controlled more than ten hectares each. In large part, the little people either leased or tended this land.

Thus, the differences between big and little people in the transitional rice community were both qualitative and quantitative. In some cases, big people owned no land at all since they were able to live without engaging in farming. Even in the cases where they did own land, big people not only owned more land than little people but they played a different role more often--that of a landlord. In the more traditional rice community of Tal, the difference between the two socio-economic classes, with respect to agriculture, was mainly one of degree. Therefore, in this case it was possible to discern a trend shown throughout most of the eight communities, namely, that movement toward modernization tended to increase differences between big and little people. Accompanying this trend was a tendency for both classes to be better off economically in the transitional communities. This latter fact should be noted before the reader automatically concludes that the Philippines is plunging toward a ghastly era of robber-baron capitalism. In other words, while it seems reasonable to ask whether or not such a diversification of roles was healthy or not in the long run, it is also reasonable to respond in terms of whether or not the lives of the majority of people were improved in the process.

Not all of the agricultural picture in Jos was one of sweetness and light, however. The fact remained that the majority of residents held tenancy on land. Also, although residents were prone not to mention it, it was difficult to miss the fact that a serious problem of rat infestation existed, where rodents devoured crops.*

As was the case in Tal, ample evidence of individual initiative existed. In addition to the more widespread use of secondary agricultural activities mentioned earlier, about half of the male residents engaged in additional supplementary occupations which were other than agricultural in character. Virtually all of the big people were involved in other enterprises, businesses, government positions, or professions -- up to three or four different economic activities simultaneously. About half of the little people had one sideline. These consisted mainly of fishing, performing odd jobs, being a calesa driver (a horse-drawn carriage used as a taxi), carpentering, and raising poultry and pigs.

The Emergence of Commerce

In Tal, few respondents mentioned or discussed commercial life in the village. By comparison, in the transitional rice community of Jos, numerous comments were received from respondents at both social levels. In each case, however, the actual conduct of commerce was dominated by the big people.

In Tal, for example, most big people viewed commercial life as a source of livelihood while most little people did not. As noted previously, however, commerce in Tal was largely limited to such things as operating sari-sari or palay stores, or having stalls in the market. These stores were operated by the big person or his wife. Other commercial occupations in which big people participated were diverse: one was a tailor, another was a miller, one owned a rice thresher, one had a goat herd, etc. In all, thirteen different business operations were handled by males in the big people category with an additional six being run by their wives. The women engaged in dressmaking, hairdressing,

* Before the reader concludes that the rat problem was unique to Jos, it is worthwhile to note that even the carefully manicured, well-tended paddies of the International Rice Research Institute had to be surrounded by electrified grids--less the rats devour up to a third of the crop in sample plots.

selling in the market, running sari-sari stores, or helping their husbands in some similar type of operation.

To summarize, in the traditional rice village of Tal, commerce largely took the form of providing services to residents of the area. These were small-scale operations done on an individual basis. Therefore, differences between big and little people did not need to be large.

This similarity in type (if not amount) of commercial activity pursued by both socio-economic classes is illustrated by such facts as the following: Six little people or their wives owned stores. Eight wives of the little people group engaged in dressmaking, vegetable vending, working with their husbands, or running sari-sari stores. One little person was a miller and another raised domestic animals. Thus, the nature of the difference in commercial and other money-making activities between big or little people in this traditional rice village can be summarized as follows. While both groups owned land, the big people owned larger amounts. While both groups had multiple sources of income, the big people had nearly twice as many as the little people. While both groups engaged in commerce (which takes the form of providing services to the community), most of the big people were involved in such activities. By contrast, only a few of the little people were so occupied.

Commerce in the transitional community of Jos had a much more important role. Its residents depicted it as being a strategically located center of business and commerce in the province while Tal, by contrast, was located at the base of a mountain range at the end of a road. Transportation was much more important in Jos, as evidenced by the fact that it was serviced by three bus lines. As a consequence, the marketplace in Jos was a busy one where virtually anything was saleable, and there were numerous people to buy goods.

These commercial aspects of the town were important to the little people. They saw it as a place where farming was good, business opportunities existed, good markets were present, jobs were available, and a general air of prosperity prevailed.

As was the case in Tal, business activity in Jos was largely a function of the big people. Eleven big people ran approximately seventeen different enterprises, most of which were far more sophisticated, required more capital, and were more widespread than those run by the big people of Tal. For example, commercial enterprises of the big people in Jos included the following:

a sugar and stockbroker, two rice millers, a rice thresher owner, a manager of a gas station, a furniture store owner, a billiard hall operator, and seven store owners who specialized in general merchandise: sari-sari goods, palay, onions, peanuts, or other farm products. In addition, one big person owned 24 small ice plants and an ice-cream and popsicle factory. Six wives in the big person category assisted their husbands in these commercial activities. Finally, one big person raised poultry and several had cattle.

In contrast to this near quantum increase in the diversity, size, and sophistication of commercial activities in which big people engaged, commercial efforts of the little people in Jos remained similar to the enterprises of little people in the more traditional village of Tal. For example, none of the little people in Jos were engaged in commercial activity other than occasional cattle raising and fishing except for six wives--three of whom ran sari-sari stores and three who were dressmakers.

In conclusion, business and commerce in the transitional community of Jos was viewed as being much more important than in Tal. Further, while big people were the major entrepreneurs in both villages, they were much more sophisticated in Jos than in Tal. Thus, when transition occurred, as was the case in agriculture, the gulf between roles played by big and little people appeared to expand. In this case, however, it was not an instance of both groups doing more in the same area. Rather, the little people appeared to stagnate at the level of commerce in which their counterparts engaged in the more traditional village of Tal while the big people made substantial upward progress. In short, the effects of social class and social change appeared to combine multiplicatively to produce sharper differences between different socio-economic groups of people.

In such a relatively dynamic commercial environment as that in Jos, one would expect that competition would have been keen. Evidence indicated that this was true as reflected in comments of some big people who complained about the fast pace and degree of competitiveness present. A few others reacted differently; they evidently were sufficiently excited by the nature of commercial activities that they wished to move elsewhere where they could become even more deeply involved in such work. From such replies it would appear reasonable to speculate that commerce in transitional communities might serve as way stations on the road to modern entrepreneurship: some candidates are weeded

out, some settle at that point, and others wish to expand their activities further--using the knowledge and experience gained en route.

Multiple Occupations

In an advanced economy, such as the one that exists in the United States, most people are gainfully employed in a single occupation. Often, considerable emphasis is placed upon acquiring a particular background or set of skills so that one is able to meet the demands of employment associated with a rapidly developing technology and a changing economy. Thus, if one wishes to pursue a well-established road to advancement, he takes steps to acquire skills in demand in the economy--both now and in the foreseeable future. Often, additional training or study is required to keep up-to-date in the field in which one works. The more complicated the job, the more time is spent in keeping abreast of new developments.

Such a strategy of advancement as that discussed above is essentially one of initially investing effort to acquire skills required if one chooses to work in a lucrative occupation, and later investing further effort to see that the initial investment remains protected. Within such an environment, the value placed upon education and special training is high. It should be noted, however, that the strategy is based upon the assumption that financial returns received from a single livelihood are adequate for most needs. Sources of income over and above this are usually returns from capital investments of income savings or inherited wealth.

In a developing country the situation must by definition be different because the economy is not as complex and specialized. Also, receiving an adequate income from a single source of endeavor is more difficult especially when the majority of people are operating at near subsistence level. What is especially interesting, however, is how the number of jobs one has increases as a function of increasing urbanization and social change. In other words, practically everyone is engaged in some farming to guarantee subsistence--especially in a traditional area. For income over and above this basic minimum numerous alternatives are available. The less traditionalism, the greater the number of secondary occupations.* The higher the status, the greater the diversity of occupation.

* Hereafter, the condition when a single person holds a number of jobs will be termed occupational diversity.

Assuming that this generalization were correct, one would expect, for example, that the little people residing in an outlying barrio near a traditional rice growing Poblacion such as Tal would be largely engaged in subsistence farming. This expectation appears to be confirmed by noting that approximately 75% of such people were self-employed farmers who occasionally got nonseasonal jobs. The only exceptions to this pattern were the operator of a rice mill, a rural policeman, a few carpenters, and one person who bought and sold rice. Two wives in this group operated a sari-sari store; but, the bulk of the women were not employed.

Subtle deviations from this pattern can be noted when examining the responses of little people residing in the traditional Poblacion of Tal, which by definition is more urban than the surrounding barrios. Many of these people simply owned or leased land, but a sprinkling of other work began to appear. For example, there was a farmer who leased six hectares for farming and performed clerical work in the municipal hall as a secondary occupation. One municipal clerk also farmed sixteen hectares while another leased three hectares. A second farmer did carpentry while a third farmer cultivated four hectares, operated a sari-sari store, and sold agricultural products as well. A fourth farmer planted fifteen hectares, was a clerk, and had a wife who was a dressmaker. In short, even when dealing with little people in a traditional rice area, it appears that occupational diversity increases slightly with urbanization.

It is not until one reviews responses of the big people of Tal that the patterns of multiple occupation become clearly discernible. Two-thirds of this group had multiple sources of income. Also, approximately a third of the wives were self-employed or salaried. Larger landowners in this group were the mayor with 55 hectares, and a miller who had 41 hectares, and ran a palay and rice business. The postmaster, who had 28 hectares of land, had a wife who was a dressmaker. The wife of another man, who had 20 hectares, taught school. The last example to be cited was a man with 16 hectares, who leased 44 more, operated a dry goods store, and whose wife sold goods in the market. Obviously, these people were not the idle rich but were individuals who increased their income by balancing a number of things simultaneously.

Among the lesser landowners of the big people there was a similar overlap in occupations. One man owned five hectares, was a driver mechanic, and a mail contractor; his wife was a hairdresser. A practicing dentist owned nine hectares, and was the municipal secretary. Another big person owned six hectares, leased four more, was a municipal councilor, a teacher in the private high school, and had a piggery project on the side. His wife owned a store--no doubt to fill in her idle hours. The chief of police had a store for the buying and selling of palay and a sideline in goat raising as well as 16 hectares of land. In contrast to this pattern, some of the big people were small landowners, teachers, or had only one occupation. But these cases were relatively infrequent.

In summary, in the traditional town of Tal it appeared that occupational diversity was primarily a function of social status but was influenced somewhat by proximity to the Poblacion. The important role played by women also was apparent in increasing this occupational diversity which tends to broaden the economic base of the family.

With the hypothesis and evidence presented so far, one would expect that the number of occupations engaged in simultaneously would increase still further in Jos--the more transitional rice Poblacion. At the same time, however, it is reasonable to expect that this process would have an upper limit. For example, at a more advanced stage of economic development, there should be a tendency for people to channel their efforts into a single occupation since marginal increments in effort would still produce dividends on invested time. In short, it would appear reasonable to speculate that occupational diversity may be a temporary expedient of people in transition until they acquire the capital necessary for specialization, or the economy advances to a stage where additional increments of effort in a single occupation yield additional increments of reward. Therefore, occupational diversity would be minimal in a subsistence economy, be maximal in a transitional one, and hold an intermediate position in an advanced economy.

Findings in the transitional community of Jos provided partial support for the above generalization; that is, with transition, there is more occupational diversification. As might be expected, however, this tendency is less marked when examining occupations of little people in the barrio near Jos. In Tal most of their counterparts were able to do little more than farm one to five hectares of land. In Jos things were slightly improved. Here the barrio folk had more

varied crops--peanuts, vegetables, corn, and onions, as well as rice. Also, approximately one-third had more than one occupation, with fishing again being the most popular choice. Other nonagricultural sidelines were also present; however, carpentry and poultry raising were fairly common. One barrio resident was an insurance underwriter; another an overseer of a villa with eleven tenants; a third was an elementary school teacher; and a fourth drove a passenger jeepney.* All of these latter examples would appear to be more lucrative secondary occupations than those of the traditional barrio folk.

Compared to Tal, in Jos there were smaller distinctions between little people of the Poblacion. Still, approximately half of the latter group had secondary sources of income as opposed to one-third of the barrio respondents of similar social status. All but one respondent, a student, leased or had tenancy on from one to six hectares of land. Half of those with sidelines engaged in fishing. The rest had a series of odd jobs ranging from carpentry and painting, to carrying sacks of rice in the Poblacion, driving calesa rigs or operating tri-cycles used for transporting someone in a sidecar. Three wives were employed: one was a hairdresser, another operated a sari-sari store, and the third was a traveling vendor.

The greatest differences in pattern of secondary occupations between transitional and traditional people could be seen in the activities of the big people of Jos. As in Tal, it was mainly the big people who engaged in multiple occupations and economic enterprises. In general, they tended to own more land than their traditional counterparts and to hold a greater number of secondary occupations. For example, in Tal only one big people respondent owned fifty or more hectares of land, while seven Joseans did.

As was in the case in Tal, two thirds of the big people had more than one source of livelihood--some having three and four sources. The pattern of activity of the larger landowners was similar to the one in Tal. The major difference was that the big people of Jos were even more heavily engaged in diversified occupations. For example, the biggest landholder had 105 hectares devoted to growing rice and 32 tenants; he was also the vice-governor and a lawyer

* A jeepney is a jeep modified to carry passengers in the back. A small van-like attachment is used to accomplish this purpose.

with a private practice. Another respondent with 90 hectares raised hogs and cattle, owned 24 small ice plants, an ice-cream and popsicle factory, and was in the real estate (he rents six apartments) and lending businesses. The mayor had 80 hectares of rice, and a law practice. The municipal secretary had 16 hectares. The Dean of the College of Agriculture owned 2-1/2 hectares and held a government job as the Assistant Provincial Agriculturist. His wife was an elementary school teacher. Another respondent was a municipal councilor who bought and sold farm products (mainly onions, peanuts and rice), had shares in a construction company, owned a trucking operation with three trucks, and was president of the family rice mill. Not all the big people are this enterprising, however. Two were local postmasters with no other occupation; there were wives who were only housewives; and the vice-mayor's only other source of livelihood was his law practice. However, even when these exceptions were considered, it was evident that the transitional big people in general had more sources of livelihood and were involved in relatively high finance and big business compared to the more traditional big people of Tal.

This tendency toward greater and more sophisticated diversification of employment can be seen by contrasting the summary statistics of both towns--disregarding class differences and place of residence. In Tal two-thirds of the respondents were self-employed, 21 percent were salaried, and ten percent had seasonal employment. Only one was listed as a professional. Existing salaried jobs were held exclusively by Poblacion folk. The big people in Tal were either self-employed or salaried. Three-fourths of the little people living in the Poblacion were almost completely self-employed and some were salaried. The barrio folk were generally self-employed with some additional employment being mentioned. Three-fourths of the wives were not employed and were listed as housewives. Eleven, mainly among the Poblacion residents, worked on an occasional basis as vegetable vendors, farm helpers, or occasional dressmakers.

Fifty-eight percent of the respondents of Jos listed seasonal employment as their means of livelihood. The vast majority of the little people in our sample were almost all tenants on the farmlands of wealthy landholders, in contrast to most of the people of Tal who either owned or leased the lands they farmed. Thus, although the work which respondents of both communities did was the same, producing rice and a few other crops, the manner of land tenure was substantially different. As was the case in Tal, the ranks of self-employed (15 percent),

salaried (13 percent) and professional (9 percent) were filled mainly by the big people in Jos.

In the transitional community, more of the wives were employed (40 percent) than in Tal (26 percent). Fifteen, almost all barrio residents, worked occasionally as market vendors of foodstuffs, vegetables, varied goods, and fish. Seven wives spread among the different classes were self-employed, e. g., running a sari-sari store or other business, working as hairdressers or dress-makers. Aside from the latter two occupations, most of the wives helped in their husbands' businesses. Nine, all wives of big people, were salaried. Most of these were elementary and high school teachers while several managed their husbands' business. One big person's wife had a professional status--a college teacher--and three others had professional or highly skilled training which they were not using: a nonpracticing dentist, a pharmacist, and a former private nurse.

Borrowing Money

From the pattern of responses reviewed so far, it is fairly apparent that economic activity of both an agricultural and commercial nature is influenced by the social class to which one belongs and the state of transition of the community in which one lives. This being the case, it is reasonable to expect a similar type of impact on methods of borrowing money, the purpose of loans, the means to which money is put, from whom it is borrowed, and how much interest is paid.

The pattern of money borrowing behavior in the traditional community of Tal tended to be generally in line with expectations. People borrowed most frequently to help with their farming, e. g., buying fertilizer, work animals, farm implements, and paying wages to farm laborers. Ninety percent of the sample of respondents in Tal reported such behavior. The second most common reason for borrowing money, which was mentioned by 83% of the respondents, was for family needs and emergencies. Other popularly endorsed reasons were for educational expenses (57%) and to meet expenses involved in buying and selling rice (26%).

Farmers in Tal tended to borrow at the beginning of the rainy season when it was time to plant crops. These loans were repaid after the harvest in the

form of a percentage of the crop yield. For example, 20% interest--a rate not especially high in such cases--would be collected by repaying four cavan of palay for each cavan of rice borrowed.* The lender presumably would sell this yield to regain capital. This pattern of borrowing was most common among little people of the barrio.

Little people of the Poblacion had a slightly different pattern of borrowing. They borrowed more frequently to meet family needs and considerably more often to finance their children's education. Also, in this group a new reason for borrowing appeared: approximately 20% of the people borrowed money which they reloaned at higher interest rates. An almost equal number borrowed to repay debts. In short, the rudiments of a credit system and fluidity of money began to appear.

One of the most frequently mentioned sources of borrowed money in Tal was the bank. Almost three-fourths of the group mentioned it. An equally often mentioned source was wealthy residents in Tal or neighboring towns. When borrowing from banks, residents had to pledge collateral such as land or cattle. Interest rates for money borrowed from wealthy people tended to be high--ranging between 25 and 96 percent. This practice undoubtedly was affected by the amount of risk involved; i. e., collateral was not demanded. Business proprietors were a less frequently mentioned source; and, when used, tended to charge slightly lower than normal interest rates. Only a few people mentioned borrowing from relatives as a possibility. This does not necessarily mean that the practice was infrequent, however, for in the traditional view, this is not really borrowing. A few respondents identified usurers as a source of money.

In summary, indebtedness appeared to be an accepted fact of life in the traditional village of Tal. It tended to enter into almost all aspects of life even in generating the basic subsistence level. With the interest rates involved it was easy to speculate that the pattern of borrowing could be perpetuated for a long time although little people of the Poblacion seemed to be more inclined to borrow in a way which could break the cycle. The other striking fact was the very high rate of interest. This could be a function of two factors working alone or in combination. First, the supply of capital to lend may be in short supply relative to the demand for it; and the risk involved in granting a loan may be great.

* A cavan of rice is a measured container holding approximately twenty-five gallons.

Responses of residents of Jos showed a lower frequency of borrowing for all reasons except two: homebuilding and repair, and the purchase of luxury items. Accompanying this pattern was less knowledge concerning sources of loans, interest rates (both legal and otherwise) than had been the case in Tal. Also, only one-third as many people in Jos mentioned borrowing for repaying debts or reloaning at interest as had been the case in Tal. These results when viewed collectively suggested that residents of Jos were not operating as close to the subsistence level as the people in Tal.

The most commonly cited reasons for borrowing and their order of importance in Jos was similar to that in Tal. Obtaining a loan for farming was the most important (85%), with family needs a close second (72%). Borrowing for educational expenses (32%), meeting costs associated with operating business activities and factories (20%), and homebuilding (20%) were less frequently listed. The fact that borrowing for educational purposes was more common among the traditional community residents (57%) than among the transitional people could be caused by the fact that in Tal children went elsewhere to obtain an education while in Jos residents could take advantage of facilities in the town.

The impact of economic status was illustrated by the fact that while most of the little people mentioned that money was borrowed to meet family needs, less than forty percent of the big people responded that way. About a third of the residents of Jos borrowed for educational reasons regardless of the social class. By comparison, in Tal, five-sevenths of the little people living in the Poblacion, three-fifths of the big people and only a fourth of the little people living in the barrio listed borrowing to meet educational expenses. This probably indicates that barrio people of the traditional community had less of an opportunity to send their children to school.

The lower frequency of mentioning borrowing for commercial reasons in Jos interviews was probably due to the fact that only the big people were involved in business endeavors in the transitional community; and thus, virtually all of those who borrowed for this reason were big people. In Tal, a substantial number of little people living in the Poblacion and nearby barrios were also involved in business enterprises; and, in fact, three-fifths of those who listed this reason for acquiring a loan were little people.

As was the case in Tal, people of Jos borrowed from one to ten times a year and repaid after the harvest. Surprisingly, they tended to mention borrowing from landlords, market vendors, proprietors and other well-to-do residents far more frequently (80%) than from legitimate sources such as banks (36%). Tal residents cited banks and government sources over two and a half times as frequently. Jos residents were also slightly more inclined to include usurers (35%) and friends (16%) as sources of loans. Indications are that while they borrowed less frequently than the Tals, they were more inclined to resort to illegitimate sources. Perhaps this was because while legitimate rates for both towns were apparently the same, illegitimate rates tended to be substantially lower in Jos. For example, most of the few who mentioned interest rates of legitimate sources in the transitional community cited between eight and 14 percent. Many more quoted illegitimate rates--most of these under 25 percent (56%) and the rest under 96 percent.

In summary, it appears that there is less borrowing in the transitional town at generally lower rates of interest. Further, borrowing is less frequently used to guarantee subsistence and more frequently used to promote commercial ideas. It also appears that the demand for borrowed money is high relative to the supply of money available for loans.

Perception of Economic Opportunities

Subjective estimates regarding the availability of jobs were very different in the traditional and transitional rice communities. Approximately three-fourths of the traditional respondents said either that there were very few (25%) or no jobs (52%) available. By contrast, three-fourths of the people of Jos felt that there were many (50%) or some (26%) jobs available. Only ten percent of the Tal group indicated there were many jobs available, and only five percent of the Jos respondents indicated there were no jobs available. This difference in economic optimism was particularly striking in the case of perceived opportunities for young people: 82 percent of the Tals believed there were few (22%) or no jobs (60%) available. In Jos respondents were divided rather evenly in perceiving many jobs (27%), some jobs (31%), and very few jobs (29%) for the young. Only ten percent of the respondents in Jos felt there were no opportunities for the young. In Tal the little people of the barrio were the least optimistic, the big people were in the middle, and the little people of the Poblacion were the most

optimistic. By comparison group differences in the transitional community were slight.

The overwhelming consensus in Tal was that the only employment opportunities for both young and adults alike were in farming--either as hired labor or self-employed. Teaching and clerical work in the municipal hall were the only other possibilities receiving frequent mention. Many added that all positions were filled and that there were no factories or businesses in town to provide employment, thereby restricting new employment opportunities to working as casual (part-time) laborers, policemen or carpenters.

In Jos, too, agriculture was considered to be the most common and abundant source of employment. Many, especially big people, also mentioned going into business or setting up stores for the buying and selling of agricultural produce or dry goods. Other most frequently considered possibilities included working as laborers on road maintenance, or as carpenters. Fairly common responses included working in the rice mills, fishing, or working in town as clerks, policemen, drivers, or street cleaners. Some big people pointed out that there were no industries and factories in Jos. Others mentioned that there were clerical positions in the municipal hall. Respondents, especially big people, often qualified their listing of opportunities for the young people with the statement that more mature people would be hired or preferred. There was no mention of educational requirements or of any unemployment problems in the transitional community.

Jos residents felt that the town offered far more alternatives and openings to people with a higher education than was the case in Tal. Eighty-eight percent of the Tals believed that there were few or no possibilities to use an education in town. Almost half of the Jos respondents indicated that there were some (27%) or many (20%) opportunities for people to use a higher education to their economic advantage. Only 11% felt that there were no opportunities in the transitional community. As was noted previously, in Tal the little people of the barrio were the least optimistic--virtually all felt that there were no opportunities to use an education in town. The little people of the Poblacion were the most positive in outlook--although half the interviewees who indicated that there were some or many openings for the educated were big people. The Jos little people of the barrio responses were grouped around estimates of "some" and "few" opportunities;

responses of the little people of the Poblacion were fairly evenly distributed across categories; and the big people responses were pessimistically grouped around the few opportunities response option.

In Tal many felt that a high school graduate had no advantage whatsoever over other people, and must resort to the same occupations--working as clerks, janitors, policemen, laborers, or most commonly, as farmers. Other possibilities mentioned included working as laborers on roads, clerks in the municipal hall, collectors of market stall fees, or as policemen or salesmen. Many indicated that there were no job openings for high school graduates. The consensus of opinion in Tal was that the college educated would have to go elsewhere, particularly to Manila, to get employment. All positions were filled in town. The only possibilities were teaching and clerical work in the municipal hall, and there were no openings.

In contrast, Jos seemed to be able to absorb its educated population. Residents felt that there were adequate opportunities in teaching, in working as clerical secretaries and as clerks in the municipal hall, and in setting up a professional practice. Other prospects included going into business or taking government positions. Few respondents in Jos indicated that there were no job opportunities or that people must leave town to find employment. Also, they appeared to have a more knowledgeable picture of what high school graduates could do.

Most people in both communities, and especially in Jos, did not appear to be frustrated by a sense of inability to improve their lot and position. Forty percent of the Tals and 54 percent of the Joseans said that there were many opportunities to rise. Only a third (33%) of the traditional and a fifth (21%) of the transitional respondents felt there were few or no opportunities. The little people of the barrio of both towns were the most optimistic; the little people of the Poblacion were the least optimistic. However, some Tal big people seemed to feel particularly thwarted.

Among the Tals, hard work and industriousness were seen as the keys to getting ahead. For most, this simply meant plugging away on the farm; but for others, it included supplementing farming with other things (like poultry and piggery) or engaging in some small business. The little people of the barrio saw success as contingent upon having a good harvest. Although hard work in

general seemed to be the panacea, a substantial number remarked that opportunities to rise were restricted to those with large amounts of property, higher educations, and business capital. (This view was rather curious considering that some of the people most likely to have them, the big people, felt frustrated in their efforts to rise in Tal.) A substantial number also replied that there was no means of livelihood but farming, and thus no way to rise.

Striving, hard work, and industriousness were also viewed as the major means of rising in Jos. Some mentioned that one could rise through farming, raising secondary crops, or by being thrifty and saving. Others felt there were many job opportunities in town. The big people particularly mentioned advancement through business activities. Many little people, however, sounded a more somber note. They pointed out that one needed capital for business. Also, it was difficult to rise through farming; and, for those who did not own land, it was almost impossible to advance economically.

In summary, the respondents of both communities placed their faith in hard work. Many of the comments were similar, except that the transitional community was more oriented towards advancement through business activity, and the traditional community had more faith in the possibility of rising through farming. Limitations imposed by capital and landownership were apparent to both groups. Perceptions of economic opportunity were more favorable in the transitional village than in the traditional one.

Perceptions of Recent Economic Progress

Preceding material makes two things obvious: First, economic factors were considered to be extremely important. Second, the transitional people felt that they had more opportunity than the traditional people. Granting these points, it is worthwhile to examine feelings about the nature and rate of progress. This was done by asking respondents to compare things today (1965-66) with life ten years ago. The first of these were two questions regarding changes in the economic situation of the town as opposed to that of the individual. In general, residents of Tal did not consider the town to be progressive. By contrast, in Jos people perceived the town as being more progressive than almost all others. It was one of the reasons they liked the town, and a primary reason that they felt that it was easier to live there now than previously.

Economic advancements were the most predominantly and almost universally cited changes in both communities. Residents of Tal also mentioned civic and educational changes very frequently while in Jos civic changes were very apparent, though about a third also mentioned educational improvements and a fifth mentioned recreational advancements. A substantial number of the economic changes of the past decade concerned some aspect of transportation: better roads, the construction of feeder roads to barrios, better means of transportation, and improved transportation facilities. In both towns there were more and better residential houses, an increased population, and a bigger and better market. Many big people also mentioned that there were improved business opportunities and more professionals. Some Tals pointed out that more people now had small businesses, but compared to the transitional respondents, they placed little emphasis on business and commercial changes.

Some members of both communities mentioned improved harvests. For the traditional community this was primarily the result of application of fertilizers and improved information on agricultural techniques. For the transitional community this improvement had been wrought by not only the use of fertilizers, but also by irrigation and mechanization. The most salient aspects of improved harvests were the increased production of rice in Tal, and in the planting of secondary crops like onions, peanuts and vegetables in Jos. The introduction of poultry and piggery projects were mentioned fairly frequently by both communities, though in Tal the big people who lived in the barrios were the most frequent contributors to this trend.

All in all, improvements in roads, transportation facilities, housing, the market, farming, and population increase were common to both communities. In Jos, however, these changes employed more advanced and more costly methods and tended to be on a larger scale. There was also more emphasis on the commercial and progressive aspects of the community itself in the transitional community. Thus, as far as view of rate of economic progress of the town, the traditional people had a less favorable general impression than their transitional counterparts. Further, progress appeared to mean different things in these two cases. This trend was not repeated when people were questioned regarding rate of individual progress, however.

Relative Change in Individual Economic Circumstances During the Last Ten Years

The people of both communities, and especially of Tal, felt that they were under less financial pressure than they were a decade ago. This was indicated by their responses to three questions: whether it was more or less difficult to make a living in the Poblacion than ten years ago; whether people had more money or less money; and whether the number of people who were badly in debt was more or less than it was ten years ago. In Tal sixty-one percent of the respondents felt people were in less financial difficulty and only 28 percent indicated that they were in more difficulty. In comparison, only 41 percent of the Jos responses indicated that times were less difficult and about 33 percent felt that they were more difficult. This general trend held was found in all subgroups but was especially pronounced among the big people. Two-thirds of the big people of Tal felt less pressured as compared to less than half the transitional big people. Consistent responses were given to all three questions.

Thus, with transition, there appears to be less of a feeling of change toward an easier life and an increased feeling of being under pressure. Some feeling for the cause of this effect can be obtained by contrasting views concerning what constitutes improved economic circumstances. In Tal, economic circumstances were viewed as having improved mainly because of improvements in farming. Also, economic circumstances had improved. Agricultural products, especially rice, commanded higher prices, and there was a better market in town for farm products. People had more money because of the new ways to supplement income from farming, such as poultry and piggery. Aside from a better outlook in farming, greater ease in living was attributed to the improvement of transportation--better roads and facilities. Some also commented that wages were higher, that earnings had increased, and that there were more job opportunities. A few mentioned improvement of business and business opportunities. For the most part, however, the Tal respondents emphasized farming improvements, higher prices of products, and the expansion of transportation and the local market.

In Jos, the agricultural situation was most crucial to the economic well-being of the people. Of particular importance was the higher price of rice and other farm products. Improvement in farming was seldom mentioned. This may indicate that the irrigation system and other advancements had been in operation more than ten years and/or that people were relatively satisfied with

the agricultural production and were not expecting vast improvements. The only agricultural renovation mentioned was the planting of a greater variety of products and the improved market for selling all kinds of products. Better harvests and secondary crops were mentioned by some mainly as reasons why fewer people were in debt. In contrast to Tal, many employment opportunities were seen as another cause for more prosperity. Road construction and general local market improvement were not discussed, probably because they were not as striking in the already bustling and progressive transitional community. The big people frequently mentioned the good business opportunities and large consumer population.

Thus, while factors which contributed to improved economic circumstances in both the traditional and the transitional community included a pronounced emphasis on agriculture, in Jos there was less emphasis on civic improvements which aid the economy (roads, transportation and local markets) and more upon employment and business opportunities. Possibly this view of progress tended to make transitional people less satisfied with progress because commerce developed more slowly. Also, emergence of commerce might have caused stress because people had not yet developed rituals to reduce tensions in this new environment in which traditional modes of stress reduction might be taxed severely. For example, the carefree, surfacely friendly, manner in which American business arrangements are conducted serves to guise the harsh economic realities underlying a meeting.

Basically, the factors considered by those who believe that people are facing more economic stress today were the same for both communities. While it is acknowledged that people earn more, they also spend more because of the higher prices of commodities, and because their needs and wants have been increased by the improved standard of living (they want more, and there are more things to buy). Also, many feel that families are bigger today, and are thus more difficult to support. With the increase in population, there is more competition in any field--commercial or agrarian. The people of Tal also mentioned frequently that more of the people were in debt because more wanted to send their children to school and more wanted a higher education. Jos interviewees did not mention the burdens of educational expenses at all--probably because they did not have to go to other towns for educational facilities. The traditional community was also plagued by a more severe problem of poor harvests--harvests

which were not bountiful enough to allow the farmer to pay off his debts. Some also mentioned that there were no opportunities for work outside of farming.

The people of Jos, aside from the responses they had in common with the traditional group, were more vocal about the squeeze on employment opportunities as a cause of economic stress. They mentioned the lack of job opportunities, unemployment, the need for an education for any kind of work, the need for pull, the lack of work other than farming. They also felt more pressure from high interest rates even though they cited lower legitimate and illegitimate rates than the Tal respondents.

Problems with earning enough to supply growing wants and needs, to combat high prices, and to support larger families were common to both communities as were the rigors of more and keener competition. Among the traditional respondents there was more of an emphasis on poor or inadequate harvests and lack of nonfarm oriented enterprises as a cause of economic failures, and on the growing desire for more education as a financial drain. Among the transitional interviewees, the lack of and restrictions upon employment opportunities were frequent considerations, as well as the high interest rates.

From the above, it seems evident that the shift from the agrarian to a more diversified economy had affected the respondent's concept of economic hardship. The people of Tal who existed on a more subsistence level, none the less subjectively experienced a less precarious economic existence than those who confronted the more fluid, progressive and varied economy of a modernizing community. They tended to have a greater sense of economic security and improved prosperity. Perhaps this was in part due to the fact that they had less exposure to some of the striking contrasts between the "have and have-nots" and to the new and more costly commodities which promoted a less difficult and more luxurious life. Perhaps it was also due to a more supportive helping atmosphere of relatives and friends who shared food and goods in time of need, giving one a sense of always being amply provided for. Also, as mentioned previously, it may be that means of reducing tension need to be developed for transitional people. This last comment should be tempered with the feeling that perhaps increased tension is needed for increased progress. The main issue is how the tension is channeled.

Discussion

From the preceding material, it is hoped that the reader has a more accurate, realistic, and meaningful impression of economic changes accompanying development. Citing specific examples often serves to illustrate a point more clearly than making general statements. The pattern of responses is sufficiently clear to produce a number of generalizations, however.

First, people in the transitional village felt that economic opportunities were substantially better than their traditional counterparts. Views concerning avenues for further improvement followed this pattern. Second, the traditional group tended to feel that more hard work in the same kind of agricultural activity was the key to success. In contrast, the transitional group tended to emphasize supplementary agricultural activities more often and to introduce new avenues of advancement through the use of diversified occupations and a greater emphasis on the role of commerce. Third, there appeared to be marked contrasts regarding the role of education. In the traditional town, it was seen as something which was a way out of that kind of life. In the transitional town, it tended to be regarded as a way of self-improvement that did not necessarily imply escape to Manila. Fourth, the transitional people tended to be more optimistic concerning chances of their children obtaining the desired level of education. Finally, the focus of the transitional people seemed larger when discussing specific town improvements. Instead of being largely restricted to the area of transportation, other things were mentioned.

From these responses it is interesting to speculate whether or not ownership of small portions of land--a common land reform goal--is really conducive to economic development. It may retard mechanization and irrigation--acts which require capital. Psychologically, it may tend to produce a focus on over-emphasis on landownership per se, instead of viewing it as one means of gaining an income. Such an orientation could produce an attitudinal set not particularly conducive to the emergence of commerce--a necessary condition for substantial economic development.

One other impression appears to emerge from results reviewed so far. Namely, that in an anxiety to understand the basis of peasant unrest, there may be a dangerous tendency to overlook the feelings of people who are small-scale entrepreneurs. For development to work within a capitalistic framework, this group is extremely important. They are the nucleus of the new middle class

whose lot needs to be improved and whose ranks need to be expanded. Further detailed study of these people would appear to be in order. Considerable evidence of discontent can be found in this group--especially in terms of being tired of exercising traditional paternalistic responsibilities.

One final comment is in order regarding social stress. Evidently, the traditional system does a good job of reconciling stress even when people exist at near subsistence levels. With transition, stress appears to change in nature and magnitude. Whether or not this will prove to be beneficial or detrimental depends upon the channels available for stress reduction and how they relate to development.

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APPENDIX A

DATA GATHERING INSTRUMENT AND RESPONSE CODE

In this appendix questions are asked and response codes are provided. An original set of cards for 800 respondents were punched. The position of the entry on these cards is given by the item number on the left side of the page. The subject matter group of responses is indicated at the top in Roman numerals. Original cards were screened to remove subjects with more than 3% omit responses. New individual cards were punched for these people where all except the nonmetrical data were inserted as numerical scores, the nature of which is indicated to the side of each response alternative in parentheses.

For example, response field IV deals with the topic of perceived unrest or discontent. Four items are included in this particular subject matter field or strata, where each item was an individual question. The greater the generally expressed contentment, the lower the score on each item. The higher the expressed discontent, the higher the score. Strata number VII deals with aspirations. Within the strata are seven items; each of which relates to a different dimension, e. g., desire for land. The higher the aspiration, the higher the score. This same system was used throughout. In short, the original card deck contains both metrical and nonmetrical data as well as synthesized responses to open-ended questions. The new individual card deck concentrated on metrical data.

The new individual cards were used to compute the analyses of variance cited in Chapters II, III, and IV. By means of a conversion program individual cards with more than three percent omits were discarded, and subjects in each of the sixteen groups formed by different combinations of two levels of social status, two levels of social change, and four different types of communities were divided in half. A mean and variance was computed for each group and new cards were punched containing the new means.

One final item should be mentioned. Strata number VII contained aspirations assessed by use of an ordered metric scale approach. Basically, this is done by asking questions of this type: "Would you prefer X for sure or a 50-50 chance of Y or Z?" Unfortunately, most subjects were extremely conservative and took the minimum for sure. This resulted in highly-skewed data which could not be analyzed.

Poblacion Study Schedule A

I. Nonmetrical Data for Cross-Sample Correlations

1.)
2.) Identification of subject and interviewer and place of interview.
3.)
4. Status
 - a. Big people
 - b. Little people, Poblacion
 - c. Little people, barrio
5. Name listed
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. Age
 - a. 20's
 - b. 30's
 - c. 40's
 - d. 50's
 - e. 60's
7. Duration of stay in town
 - a. Almost all life
 - b. At least 10 years
 - c. Less than 10 years
8. Marital status
 - a. Married
 - b. Single
 - c. Widower
 - d. Separated

9. Number of children
 - a. 0
 - b. 1, 2
 - c. 3, 4
 - d. 5, 6, 7
 - e. 8 or more
10. Blank
11. Wife's occupation
 - a. Not employed
 - b. Occasional
 - c. Sari-sari, self-employed
 - d. Salaried job
 - e. Professional
12. Father's occupation
 - a. Unemployed
 - b. Regular self-employment, small business, small farm
 - c. Salaried job, big business
 - d. Professional
 - e. Landowner (big) -- more than 10 hectares
13. Position in family
 - a. 1st
 - b. 2nd or 3rd
 - c. 4th or 5th
 - d. 6th or 7th or any other but youngest
 - e. Youngest

14. Number of children in family

- a. 1
- b. 2 or 3
- c. 4 or 5
- d. 6 or 7
- e. 8 or more

15. Religion

- a. Catholic
- b. Protestant
- c. Iglesia ni Kristo
- d. Other
- e. None

II. Housing as a Sign of Prosperity

16. House construction (High scores indicate better housing.)

- a. Strong (3)
- b. Mixed (2)
- c. Light (1)

17. House construction

- a. Good (3)
- b. Average (2)
- c. Poor (1)

18. House construction

- a. Number of rooms _____. (a = 1, b = 2, c = 3, d = 4, e = 5.)

19. House construction

- a. Owned (3)
- b. Rented (2)
- c. Live with relatives (1)

III. Dependence Upon Relatives

20. How many relatives do you have in this place?

() (High scores indicate freedom from relatives)

- a. More than 30 (1)
- b. 10-30 (2)
- c. Fewer than 10 (3)
- d. None (4)

21. Do they think that nowadays people care more or less about their relatives than they did when you were young?

() (High scores show less concern with relatives).

- a. More (1)
- b. The same (2)
- c. Less (3)

IV. Unrest or Discontent

22. Are most people contented living here?

() (High scores show discontent).

- a. Very contented (1)
- b. Contented (2)
- c. Neither (3)
- d. Discontented (4)

23. Nowadays, are people more contented, less contented or the same as ten years ago? Why?
- () (High scores show discontent)
- a. More contented (1)
 - b. The same (2)
 - c. Less contented (3)
24. Compared with people in other towns, are people here more contented, less contented, the same?
- () (High scores show discontent)
- a. More (1)
 - b. The same (2)
 - c. Less (3)
 - d. All towns the same (4)
25. Would you say you are happy living here?
- () (High scores show discontent)
- a. Very happy (1)
 - b. Happy (2)
 - c. Neither (3)
 - d. Unhappy (4)

V. Perceived Economic Opportunity

26. Do people have opportunities for jobs here? What jobs?
- () (High scores show optimism)
- a. Many (4)
 - b. Some (3)
 - c. Very few (2)
 - d. None (1)

27. Do young people have opportunities for jobs? What jobs?

() (High scores show optimism)

- a. Many (4)
- b. Some (3)
- c. Very few (2)
- d. None (1)

28. Do people have opportunities to use high school or college education here? What jobs?

() (High scores show optimism)

- a. Many (4)
- b. Some (3)
- c. Very few (2)
- d. None (1)

29. Do people have opportunities to rise here?

() (High scores show optimism)

- a. Many (4)
- b. Some (3)
- c. Very few (2)
- d. None (1)

VI. Perceptions of Recent Economic Changes

30. What do you think about making a living in this this Poblacion?

Is it more difficult than, less difficult than, or the same as ten years ago?

() (High scores show optimism)

- a. More difficult (1)
- b. The same (2)
- c. Less difficult (3)

31. Do you think people now have more money than, less money than, or the same as ten years ago?

() (High scores show optimism)

- a. More (3)
- b. The same (2)
- c. Less (1)

32. Do you think that the number of people who are badly in debt now is more than, less than, or the same as ten years ago?

() (High scores show optimism)

- a. More (1)
- b. The same (2)
- c. Less (3)

VII. Aspirations

33. How much farmland would you like to own?

- a. None (1)
- b. 3 hectares or less (2)
- c. 6 hectares or less (3)
- d. 10 hectares or less (4)
- e. More than 10 hectares (5)

34. What things would you like to own? (Approximate)

- a. Nothing more than have, house (small people) (1)
- b. Watch (2)
- c. Refrigerator (3)
- d. Car (4)
- e. More, house (big people) (5)

35. How much money would you like to earn each month?
- a. Little or none (1)
 - b. 90 or less (2)
 - c. 150 or less (3)
 - d. 500 or less (4)
 - e. More than 500 (5)
36. How far would you like your children to continue their education?
- a. Less than high school (1)
 - b. High school (2)
 - c. Vocational school (3)
 - d. College (4)
 - e. More than college (5)
37. What kind of profession or position would you like to have?
- a. No job, any job (1)
 - b. Regular self-employment, small business (2)
 - c. Salaried job, big business (3)
 - d. Professional (4)
 - e. More (president of big business, etc.) (5)
38. How high would you like to have contacts in government?
- a. None, not interested (1)
 - b. Governor, local officials (2)
 - c. Congressman (3)
 - d. Senator (4)
 - e. More (president, etc.) (5)

39. What political office would you like to hold?

- a. None (1)
- b. Barrio captain (2)
- c. Municipal councilor (3)
- d. Mayor (4)
- e. Higher office (5)

40-43. Blank on original cards, but not on new individual cards.

VIII. Present Status

44. Land

- a. No land (1)
- b. 1-2 hectares (2)
- c. 3-5 hectares (3)
- d. 6-9 hectares (4)
- e. 10 or more hectares (5)

45. Things

- a. None (1)
- b. Radio (2)
- c. Watch (3)
- d. Refrigerator (4)
- e. Car (5)

46. Money

- a. Less than 59 (1)
- b. 60-89 (2)
- c. 90-149 (3)
- d. 150-299 (4)
- e. 300 or more (5)

47. Education

- a. Less than elementary (1)
- b. Elementary (2)
- c. High school (3)
- d. Vocational school (4)
- e. College (5)

48. Employment

- a. No regular (1)
- b. Seasonal (2)
- c. Self-employed (3)
- d. Salaried (4)
- e. Professional (5)

49. Political contacts

- a. None (1)
- b. Mayor (2)
- c. Governor (3)
- d. Congressman (4)
- e. Senator (5)

50. Political office

- a. None (1)
- b. Barrio council (2)
- c. Barrio captain (3)
- d. Municipal councilor (4)
- e. Mayor (5)

IX. Ordered Metric Scale Determination of Aspiration Level

(a = 1, b = 2, c = 3, d = 4 throughout)

51. LOA

- a. No land
- b. 3 hectares
- c. 6 hectares
- d. 10 hectares

52. LOA

- a. None
- b. Watch
- c. Refrigerator
- d. Car

53. LOA

- a. None
- b. 90
- c. 150
- d. 300

54. LOA

- a. None
- b. High school
- c. Vocational school
- d. College

55. LOA

- a. None
- b. Regular self-employment
- c. Salaried job
- d. Professional

56. LOA

- a. None
- b. Governor
- c. Congressman
- d. Senator

57. LOA

- a. None
- b. Barrio captain
- c. Municipal councilor
- d. Mayor

X.. Subjective Probability (Estimated Chance of Gaining Aspirations)

(a = 1, b = 2, c = 3, d = 4 throughout)

58. Land

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

59. Money

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

60. Things

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

61. Education

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

62. Occupation

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

63. Political pull

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

64. Public office

- a. 0-25
- b. 26-50
- c. 51-75
- d. 76-100

XI. Perceptions About the Government

How much do you think the government should do to help the people?

(a = 1, b = 2, c = 3, d = 4 throughout)

65. Own more land

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

66. Have more of the things they need

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

67. Get higher earnings

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

68. Get a better education for their children

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

69. Have better employment opportunities

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

70. Have contact with important people

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

71. Participate in the government

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

72. Have peace and order in this place

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

Can the government do anything to help the people?

73. Own more land

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

74. Have more of the things they need

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

75. Get higher earnings
- a. Nothing
 - b. A little
 - c. Some
 - d. Much
76. Get a better education for their children
- a. Nothing
 - b. A little
 - c. Some
 - d. Much
77. Have better employment opportunities
- a. Nothing
 - b. A little
 - c. Some
 - d. Much
78. Have contact with important people
- a. Nothing
 - b. A little
 - c. Some
 - d. Much
79. Participate in the government
- a. Nothing
 - b. A little
 - c. Some
 - d. Much

80. Have peace and order in this place

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

Has the government been doing anything to help the people?

81. Own more land

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

82. Have more of the things they need

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

83. Get higher earnings

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

84. Get a better education for their children

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

85. Have better employment opportunities

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

86. Have contact with important people

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

87. Participate in the government

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

88. Have peace and order in this place

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

XII. Self-Sufficiency

Can you yourself do anything to

(a = 1, b = 2, c = 3, d = 4 throughout)

89. Own more land

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

90. Have more of the things you need

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

91. Get higher earnings

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

92. Get a better education for your children

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

93. Have better employment opportunities

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

94. Have contact with important people

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

95. Participate in the government

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

96. Have peace and order in this place

- a. Nothing
- b. A little
- c. Some
- d. Much

XIII. Subjective Importance of Different Dimensions

(a = 5, b = 4, c = 3, d = 2, e = 1 throughout)

97. Land

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

98. Things

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

99. Money

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

100. Education

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

101. Employment

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

102. Political pull

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

103. Political office

- a. First choice
- b. Second choice
- c. Third choice
- d. Fourth choice
- e. No mention

XIV. Open-Ended Question Data Not on New Cards

Poblacion Study Schedule A2

6 & 7.. What do you like best about this Poblacion?

- 201. Peace and order
- 202. Relatives and friends
- 203. Materialistic considerations
- 204. Recreation and entertainment
- 205. Educational opportunities

8. Why do people from other places come to live in this Poblacion?

- 206. Peace and order
- 207. Relatives and friends
- 208. Materialistic considerations
- 209. Recreation and entertainment
- 210. Educational opportunities

259. Retirement

260. Break laws, commit crimes, debts

9. Have people from this Poblacion gone to live in other Poblacions?

211. a. Few

b. Some

c. Many

Why?

212. Peace and order

213. Relatives and friends

214. Materialistic considerations

215. Recreation and entertainment

216. Educational opportunities

261. Retirement

262. Break laws, commit crimes, debts

10. Number of other towns not as good as this town.

217. a. Few

b. Some

c. Many

d. All towns the same

Why are other towns not as good as this town?

Less:

218. Peace and order

219. Relatives and friends

220. Materialistic considerations

221. Recreation and entertainment

222. Educational opportunities

11. How many other towns in this province are better?

- 223. a. Few
- b. Some
- c. Many
- d. All towns the same

Why?

More:

- 224. Peace and order
- 225. Relatives and friends
- 226. Materialistic considerations
- 227. Recreation and entertainment
- 228. Educational opportunities

16. What are the changes that have taken place in this Poblacion in the past 10 years?

More:

- 229. Peace and order
- 230. Relatives and friends
- 231. Materialistic considerations
- 232. Recreation and entertainment
- 233. Educational opportunities
- 234. Changes in attitudes of people, modern, religious, more concern politics

Less:

- 235. Peace and order
- 236. Relatives and friends
- 237. Materialistic considerations
- 238. Recreation and entertainment

-
- 239. Educational opportunities
 - 240. Moral degeneration
 - 241. Little change
 - 19. Purposes of borrowing money
 - 242. Business and factories
 - 243. Homebuilding and repair
 - 244. Pay debts
 - 245. Education
 - 246. Recreation and entertainment
 - 247. Reloan at interest
 - 248. To help others
 - 249. Family needs and emergencies
 - 250. Luxuries
 - 263. Farmlands, animal raising
 - 264. Fishing
 - 19. Sources of loans
 - 251. Banks, Social Security
 - 252. Coops, credit unions, CSE
 - 253. Pawn shops
 - 254. Well-to-do, big business, landowner
 - 255. Usurers
 - 256. Friends and relatives
 - 19. Legitimate interest rates
 - 257. a. 0.4% yr.
 - b. 5-7% yr.
 - c. 8-11% yr.

d. 12-14% yr.

e. More than 14% yr.

19. Interest rates of usurers

258. a. Under 25% yr.

b. Under 96% yr. (8% mon.)

c. Under 300% yr. (25% mon.)

d. Over 300% yr.

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